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**Silenced voices/speaking bodies: female performance
and cultural agency in the court of Anne of Denmark
(1603-19).**

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Doctoral thesis.

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Declaration.

This thesis develops from research carried out in my MA in English and European Renaissance Drama at the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance, University of Warwick. The introduction builds on ideas first expressed in my article, 'Defacing the carcass: Anne of Denmark and Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness', in Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon, ed. by Julie Sanders, with Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, forthcoming), which substantially reworks material from my MA in the light of my subsequent doctoral research. These findings form a basis of knowledge from which the further investigations of this thesis are carried out.

Summary.

This study investigates the long-neglected cultural engagement of the court of Anne of Denmark, consort of James VI and I, revising her historiographical representation in the light of current gender theory.

Focusing upon the masque performances of the English Jacobean court, I examine the genre's anomalous staging of Renaissance female performance and its contribution to the emergence of a more general female performance. Through detailed analysis of masque performances, I assess contemporary courtly attitudes towards female masquing and the performative representation of the courtly woman. This study is firmly interdisciplinary in its approach to female cultural production, investigating the texts of performance, embroidery, dance, patronage and commissioning, and religious and political engagement. This thesis breaks new ground in the detailed examination of the aesthetics of masque performance as tools of social and political engagement.

This study decentres the anglocentricism prevalent in recent cultural criticism of the Jacobean court. My first chapter traces Anne's life and performance in both the Danish and Scottish Renaissance courts, assessing the impact of these alternative models upon her cultural engagement. Chapters two and three continue the analysis of performance. The former discusses the danced performance of aristocratic identity and the way in which this facilitates female masque performance; the latter relates the performance of the female body in the major English Jacobean masques to performance space, costume and scenery. Tracing the line of female performance through the second decade of the seventeenth century, I analyse Robert White's Cupid's Banishment, the final masque of Anne's career. This reading encapsulates my discussion of female cultural agency through the autonomy of the Queen's court. Recycling memories of earlier performances, Cupid's Banishment stages disparate texts of female expressivity in a masque which contains perhaps the unique Jacobean staging of the female masquing voice.

Abbreviations.

This thesis is presented according to the guidelines of the Modern Humanities Research Association Style Book (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), fifth edition.

After an initial reference, a book will be referred to by the author's surname: e.g. 'Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, Writing Women in Jacobean England (London and Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1993)', will be referred to as 'Lewalski'. In cases where more than one book by a single author is cited, a short title will follow the author's surname: e.g. 'Stephen Orgel, Impersonations: The Performance of gender in Shakespeare's England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)', becomes 'Orgel, Impersonations'. After the initial full citation, theses, dissertations and articles from both journals and books will be referred to by the author's full name and a short title: 'Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan: Negri's Torch Dances', Early Music, 14 (1986), 182-96', becomes 'Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan''. Titles of masques and performances are also shortened within the text of this thesis: e.g. for Thomas Campion's 'The Somerset Masque', read 'Somerset'.

List of Abbreviations.

C.S.P.: Calendar of State Papers

E.H.R.: The English Historical Review.

S.H.R.: The Scottish Historical Review.

Introduction.

This thesis is an investigation of the cultural agency and production of the court of Anne of Denmark, consort of James VI and I. As my title suggests, I avoid a comprehensive study of Queen Anne's cultural engagement, leaving the material culture of her court aside in favour of a detailed discussion of her involvement with the early Stuart court masque. Using these performances to assess the perception of the early seventeenth-century English queen consort, I illuminate both Anne's agency and the gendered representation of the performing female aristocrat and royal woman. This study focuses upon the legitimate practice of female masquing, assessing its contribution to the more widespread emergence of female performance in and beyond the court elite, which eventually culminates in the appearance of the Restoration professional female actor. In order to do this, I rigorously examine the representation of femininity in performance and contemporary attitudes (courtly and non-courtly) to female masquing and the performance of femininity.

Female performance in the Jacobean court works within the dictates of courtly society, its perceptions of an ideal femininity and the performance of this ideal on the masquing stage. While it does this, however, the engagement of Anne of Denmark and her coterie in the Jacobean court masque also challenges both those social codes and the performance conventions of the masque form itself. The court masque genre, the product of an insular elite, both expresses and influences that society's nature. This study will offer a complex model of the Jacobean court(s), in which disparate

establishments and centres of power replace the concept of a centralised site of authority and a simplistic notion of courtly performance and cultural agency. The practice of female court performance will be addressed within this revised picture of authority and the performance of power in the court of Anne of Denmark.

Queen Anne and the court masque.

In a project which seeks to revise the misrepresentation of Anne of Denmark's cultural programme, her historiographical representation is paramount. Studies of court culture have traditionally denigrated both Anne's role and character and it is only with the emergence of feminist and gender theorisations and of cultural criticism that the balance has begun to be redressed.¹ Recent developments, including investigations into early modern women's writing and the discourses of femininity have made possible a more comprehensive examination of feminine cultural agency and production. This study furthers this initiative, examining the influence of the cultural engagement of the feminine court elite upon the development of female performance within the English Renaissance court.

The court culture of Anne of Denmark is emerging as an area of great interest, especially for researchers committed to the historicist and gender projects. The ground-breaking historical study of Anne's court career is Leeds Barroll's 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen'. Anne's agency, commissioning and masque performances are assessed in greater depth by Marion Wynne-Davies, Kim F. Hall and Barbara Kiefer Lewalski.² Stephen Orgel's *Impersonations* briefly considers Jacobean courtly

female performance, and Aasand Hardin, Yumna Siddiqi and Kathryn Schwarz examine the discourses of race and gender within the imagery of Anne's masques. Diane Purkiss's important study of the figure of the witch in early modern England draws on Anne's masque performances to illuminate her subject.³ The most comprehensive specific study of Anne's masques to date is Karen Lee Middaugh's doctoral dissertation, a primarily historical and textual reading of Anne's career and performances which makes valuable reference to Louise Fradenburg's re-evaluation of the dynamics of early modern queenship.⁴ Studies of Caroline court culture and the performances of Henrietta Maria are also relevant to the Jacobean court. Most prominent is Erica Veevers's book-length study; Sophie Tomlinson and Suzanne Gossett also analyse the dynamics of female and transvestite performance within the Caroline court in ways which are particularly suggestive.⁵

This thesis also necessarily engages with criticism of the court masque genre itself. The starting point is necessarily the innovative work of Stephen Orgel, which has shifted from the text-based analysis of The Jonsonian Masque to the more performance-oriented studies of Inigo Jones and the Theatre of the Stuart Court and Impersonations.⁶ Andrew Sabol's Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Court Masque publishes the extant masque music and discusses the performative aspects of the genre (namely music and dance), and is a vital component of any analysis of the masque as performance.⁷ Within the historicist project, scholars such as David Lindley, Martin Butler, Jerzy Limon and Graham Parry have found the court masque fertile ground for the analysis of English Renaissance court culture.⁸ My study develops both from this masque criticism and the reassessment of female

courtly agency in the early modern period, taking as its central concern and analytical tool the detailed examination of masque performance. The political and social context of masque performance will be employed to illuminate the gender discourses and performance of the masque and vice versa. My discussions of the masquing body in motion, rest and representation will effect a convergence of theorisations of gender, historicism and performance. This study breaks new ground in the links it establishes between the aesthetics of masque performance and the analysis of the gender relations of Renaissance courtly society. My discussion of the aesthetics of female masquing will challenge accepted notions of the structure of the Jacobean court and of female aristocratic agency within it.⁹

Stuart noblewomen performed in eight masques of the English Jacobean court; Anne herself masqued in seven (unorthodoxly in Campion's Somerset Masque) and was the privileged spectator of White's Cupid's Banishment.¹⁰ This relatively small corpus has a substantial impact upon the emergence of early modern female performance. The majority of masques commissioned or performed by Queen Anne cluster in the first decade of the Jacobean English reign. The performances of the early 1610s are, however, also profoundly revealing of the perception of the queen consort and the status of the courtly female. This study avoids the conventional focus upon the Jonsonian masque and the figure of Ben Jonson himself in favour of a discussion of the prominent masques of Anne's career. Jonson is, however, necessarily prominent simply because of his sustained patronage relationship with Anne and his engagement with the circulation of patronage through the various court establishments. This study also avoids the confinement to English court performances common to so much

criticism of Jacobean court culture. Instead I seek to decentre such anglocentricity and site these performances within the context of performance across Europe and the British Isles. In order to do this, I trace Anne's life and performances through the Danish and Scottish courts, illuminating the distinct cultural models which feed into her English performances.¹¹

An understanding of the specific nature of the masque genre and the emergent practice of female performance it stages is essential to this project. The court masque is the only sustained legitimate forum of female performance in Renaissance England. A non-dramatic elite communal ritual, the masque derives its performance conventions from its social environment. Noble men and women are judged on the masquing stage as they would be were they watching instead of participating. It is the masque's social nature that allows female nobles to participate; rather than being thought of as performance, masquing is postulated as participation in court society. The masque's class-consciousness further facilitates female performance because it demands that aristocratic masquing (male and female) be clearly delineated from the acting of the professional performers of the public theatres. The concept of masquing differs radically from that of acting, demanding neither the effacement of self nor the adoption of an alternative identity. Instead, the masque is predicated upon the confirmation of noble identity and, as I shall demonstrate in chapter two, the theatricality at the core of the courtier's identity is performed upon the masquing stage. The body of the Renaissance aristocrat is itself a space of theatrical play - the masque's staged performance of the courtly identity facilitates female performance.¹²

The social masque form is an exemplary text for the interpretation of the relationship between performance and the dictates of its creating society. Masque performance reveals the court's gender and class-oriented dynamics, their impact upon the performance of femininity and that of female performance upon the conventions of the masque itself. Within the masque, the opposition between the early modern perception of femininity and of court membership becomes clear. The noblewoman's participation is intrinsic to the masque genre (at the very least in the revels dances) in order for it to create the social affirmation necessary to its existence as state ritual. Aristocratic women must perform despite the injunction of the female to domestic confinement, withdrawal and silence. The courtly woman is at the nexus of conflicting discourses of femininity and class.

The politics of aesthetics.

This study offers a broad definition of the term 'performance', including courtly ritual and ceremonial alongside the more orthodox performance of the court masque. Although none is strictly theatre, these performances are bound by a shared theatricality. Clear evidence of Anne of Denmark's performative and social agency can be found in her shifting representation in the performances of which she is part. My analysis focuses upon the aesthetic details of Anne's performances, connecting them with her social and political role, her ideological opposition to her husband and to the mainstream Jacobean court. The distinction between this project and other criticisms of Queen Anne's cultural agency is my intense focus upon the performative experience of the court masque and the reading of aesthetics as the medium for the

expression of political and gendered significance. I analyse scenery, costume, and the masquing body in relation to the speech, poetry and song of the masque, all set within the historicised context of the English and Scottish Jacobean courts. An important result of the priority given to performance is the destabilisation of the privileging of the published masque text (which I shall refer to as the 'transcript' in order to avoid confusion), which is usually taken as the only text available for interpretation. The denial of the primacy of the written masque text is a mainstay of this project.

This study looks to assess and move beyond contemporary theorisations of the court masque and the relationship between performance and published text. Unsurprisingly, Ben Jonson's theorisation of the masque genre remains the most influential of contemporary writings on the subject. In *Hymenaei*'s well-known preface, Jonson establishes a dichotomy between the masque's performative aspects and its written text, also present in *Blackness*'s formulation of these components as 'carcases' and 'spirits'.¹³ Though much cited, Jonson's formulation has remained largely unchallenged in traditional masque analysis which, focusing upon the relationship of the published text to its political moment, neglects the more ephemeral performance text. It is upon this latter text that this thesis centres. Through the early modern conceptualisation of the gendered body, Jonson's dichotomy consigns the silent female masquer to a debased corporeality.¹⁴ Yet the performance of the female body denies Jonson's polarised formulation; female corporeal expression suggests that this polarity is both redundant and reductive. My examination of the physical texts of the performing female body attempts to move beyond this static formulation into new and productive methods of analysing court masque performance.

The masque's definition of the corporeality of the performing woman is central to this project, which sites the emergence of female performance within a culture versed in the male transvestite performance of femininity. The performances of Anne and her coterie form a strand of female performance through the Jacobean court, revived after her death by Henrietta Maria, another continental Catholic queen consort. The court masque is a legitimate stage for the performance of the female body and the suggestive juxtaposition of the transvestite male actor and the female masquer. The necessary presence of the female body pushes on the conventions of feminine representation within Jacobean court ideology: constant pressures and tensions surround the performative representation of the female masquer.

The presence of Inigo Jones, the designer of the majority of Anne's masques, pervades this study. Jones's work demonstrates a constant concern with human corporeality. The designer's engagement with the theatrical and architectural human body culminates in his 1632 commission to build an anatomy theatre for the Barber Surgeons of London. Sawday comments, 'What could be more appropriate, to an architect who had studied Vasari's conception of buildings as representations of bodies, than that he should set out to design a building in which the body itself was the focus of interest?'.¹⁵ Yet the theatre of the human body is prefigured in Jones' design for the third Whitehall Banqueting House and in his definition of the architectural human body in costume and scenery, which dates from his initial involvement with the court masque in the 1605 performance of Blackness. By 1619, Jones is the designer of most of the physical aspects of the masque and the architectural component of the body imbues the entire fabric of the performance space

and conception of the Stuart court masque. The centrality of the performing aristocratic body within the court masque clearly emerges from this study.

As a central conceptual and practical component of the masque, the performing body exists in a suggestive relationship to the shifting scenery which Jones brings to the masque stage. In a very real sense the noble masquer is a part of the scenery; the women who are brought forwards in the scallop shell of Blackness, held within Queens's House of Fame and descend in the clouds of Hymenaei are cradled, displayed and moved by the scenery, emerging from it and returning to it at the end of the masque performance. As my analysis of Queens in chapter three demonstrates, the motion which defines Jones's scenery is appropriated from the kinetic performing body and is used to display that body to its audience and sovereign. The performing body, encased in elaborate, shape-defining costumes, provides the kinetic impulse behind masque performance.

My analysis also prioritises the relationship between language, text and the silenced female masquer. Denied speech, the masquer has a necessarily physicalised relationship to linguistic expression; the female performer exploits alternate expressive performances and texts. Within the masque's performance of courtly authority, female opposition is performed through the constraints of generic convention to effect a more liberated female performance. The physicalisation of language in Blackness demonstrates that the corporeal female masquer is not excluded from linguistic expression but that this results in the physicalisation of language itself and the textualisation of the performing female body.¹⁶ I shall offer a detailed analysis

of the feminine corporeal texts of the masquing dance and of the embroidered emblems presented as gifts within Robert White's Cupid's Banishment, discussing the relationship of these corporeal texts to the female voice and linguistic expression.

The unique status of the royal and aristocratic female masquers within English Renaissance performance binds their performances into a coherent corpus of work. The consciousness of a tradition of female performances is significant to this thesis. The court masque is an event in the social existence of the court. As the restitution made for the transgressions of Blackness in its sequel Beauty demonstrates, these performances are linked in the memories of the watching and performing courtiers.¹⁷ Within this communal memory, the intertextualities between masques fashions an identifiable tradition of female-performed masques. Furthermore, female performance itself exists as a meaningful and interpretable activity which relates both to itself and to the canon of male performances. As my analysis of Queens in chapter three will show, intertextualities between masques reveal the negotiations of power and authority in the light of previous performances.

Within this tradition, the masque reveals the courtly perceptions of class and gender in early modern England and Scotland. A brief glance at the representation of the feminine in the iconography of the Jacobean court masques confirms its coherency. The characters chosen to represent femininity (by both male and female performers) are a revealing precursor to my examination of female performance itself.

The early Stuart court masques are redolent of their Elizabethan inheritance. Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses employs late Tudor iconography in Anne's performance as Pallas, a deliberate restaging of Elizabethan imagery and, as I shall demonstrate in chapter three, a careful avoidance of an alignment with Juno the goddess of marriage. The reworking of Elizabethan symbols continues in Jonson's masques of Blackness and Beauty, in which Aethiopia (a 'Cynthia made alien') restages the image of the moon-goddess within the Stuart court through the performance of racial difference which will be seen to be intrinsic to Anne of Denmark's performance career.¹⁸ However, in Hymenaei, the King's masque for the Essex/Howard marriage of 1606 in which Queen Anne did not perform, Juno is the presiding deity of national and marital union. This masque advances the 'official' masculine Stuart formulation of authority through the gendered construct of the patriarchal family, worked out through performance and predicated in opposition to the performance of female authority in the female masques of the early Jacobean court in England.

A shift takes place in the representation of the feminine within the culminating masque of Queen Anne's Whitehall performance career, Jonson's Queens (1609). Instead of presiding classical goddesses, the feminine is represented through the minor mythical figure of Fame and the literary, classical and historical figures of whom Bel-Anna is the only 'actual' woman. Continued in Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly, where the female is represented through the daughters of the morn and in the notable absence of the mythological goddess who presided over the earlier masques, this trend culminates in the performance of Campion's Lords' Masque in 1613. Reworking the

motif of the sibyl first staged in The Vision, the masque is presided over by the masculine deities of Jove and Prometheus, assisted by the antimasque figure of Mania, goddess of madness. However, the final masque of Anne's career, Cupid's Banishment, itself an evocation of former female performances, returns more forcefully to the iconography of the early Stuart court masques and restages the goddess Diana, the refigured image of Elizabethan virginal authority so prominent within Anne's early masque performances. The construct of the performance of femininity within the Stuart court masque is affected and altered by the presence of female performers and by the cultural agency of Anne's commissionings and performance.

The project: chapter by chapter.

As stated, an important aspect of this study is the destabilisation of the anglocentrism of recent cultural criticism of the English Stuart court. My opening chapter traces Anne's lived and ritual experiences through the Danish and Scottish Renaissance courts. Focusing on the ceremonies of James VI's Scandinavian journey and Anne's early Scottish career, my analysis is framed by the narrative trope of the romance quest present in both the ritual and rhetorical documentation of these events. This narrative image simultaneously highlights the role-playing inherent in Renaissance sovereignty and reveals the early modern perception of the queen consort; Anne is represented as both a gift and threat to the Scottish court. As the passive medium of exchange of the ideology of absolutism and the bearer of the gift of the heir, Anne 'share[s] with the gift the quality of coming to an "inside" from an

“outside” and of bearing something of the “outside” with [her]; she both regenerates the court into which she enters and threatens it with her difference’.¹⁹ This chapter traces the ritual definition of the queen consort through the Scandinavian marriage ceremonies and celebrations, Anne’s 1590 coronation and entry into Edinburgh and the 1594 Stirling festivities for Prince Henry’s baptism. Examining the performance of alien femininity through the markers of racial difference prominent in Anne’s entry and the baptismal entertainment, I also discuss the refiguration of the romance quest in Anne’s later English performances through a brief examination of Jonson’s Blackness. In the move south Anne’s opposition, evident in her conversion to Catholicism, becomes explicit. In the 1603 London coronation the ritual definition of queenship is destabilised by the performance of the oppositional female will as Anne refuses the Protestant communion.

The shift into the analysis of the main performances of the English Jacobean court begun in chapter one is carried forward in chapter two through the analysis of the gender dynamics of the masquing dance in several of that court’s major masques. Contextualising the examination of the dancing aristocratic body in early modern courtesy and dance manuals, this section examines the governing codes of the courtly body in the masque’s social and performative dances. These codes contribute to the necessity of female masquing; I will demonstrate how the theatricality of the courtly identity renders female performance vital to the court masque’s figuration of its creating society. An examination of the relationship between linguistic expression and the textualised dancing body of the silenced aristocrat is also integral to this analysis. The textuality of the female masquing body in the graphic dance and the rare motif of

writing-in-dance (also discussed extensively in chapter four) pressures the injunction of the aristocratic masquer to silence.

The examination of the performing female body is a constant in this thesis. Chapter three analyses the physical aspects of masque performance in relation to the gendered aristocratic body, focusing upon performance space, costume and scenery. Discussing two major Jacobean masques, Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses (1604) and Jonson's Masque of Queens (1609), I trace the impact of performance space and of Inigo Jones's costumes and shifting scenery upon the staging of the female body. Queens has not until now been analysed through the dynamics of its staging and Jones's adventurous synthesis of text, body and architecture in his stage design. I suggest a mutual interaction of masque convention and female corporeal performance, in which the performance of the female body is defined by the masque's generic conventions, which are themselves profoundly influenced by the female performative presence. While both chapters two and three analyse the major masques of the early Jacobean court, space does not allow for a comprehensive survey. Jonson's Blackness and Beauty (1608) have been analysed in detail elsewhere using the approaches and concerns which guide this larger project; for the sake of brevity I shall simply refer to my conclusions as they relate to other masque performances.²⁰ This chapter then discusses the performance of Campion's Somerset Masque and its ramifications for the development of female masquing. Strictly speaking neither a masquer nor a spectator, Queen Anne is involved in an unprecedented performance which is simultaneously both compliment and admonition. Performed in the early phase of the courtly female aristocrat's marginalisation from Whitehall performance,

Somerset reworks the conceits and iconography of previous female masques to deny the possibility of further feminine performance. My analysis reveals the extent to which the aesthetics of performance are themselves politicised; performance is the medium for the display and creation of female marginalisation from political centrality.

My final chapter engages with Robert White's Cupid's Banishment, a little-known out-of-court masque performed at Anne's court at Greenwich Palace in May 1617, not subjected to rigorous critical analysis in its own right outside this thesis.²¹ Performed by pupils of the first recorded English girls' school and with Anne as privileged spectator, this performance challenges the definition of court membership. Pushing upon the court masque's generic conventions within a performance which fluctuates between marginality and centrality, Cupid's Banishment also stages the female voice. Drawing upon memories of previous female performances, the strategies used to stage female expression throughout Queen Anne's court career are recycled alongside this unprecedented vocality; this masque is also the first to dance the female name. Once again the female gains access to linguistic expression through the pictorialisation and corporealisation of language itself, in the gifts of the embroidered emblems and the textual dance. The concepts of court and queenship will be investigated, and the extent to which Anne can be said to stand at the head of a separate queen's court assessed. That this is indeed the case is suggested by Chamberlain's categorisation of Anne's establishments at Somerset House and Greenwich Palace as the 'Quenes court'.²² The status of Anne's court as a semi-autonomous establishment is suggested in the creation in the early years of the

English Stuart reign of the Queen's Court of Chancery which dealt with issues concerning the consort's estates.²³ In addition, as Lewalski has pointed out, Anne's court fashions its courtiers in much the same way as does that of the king, through performance, patronage and the currency of royal favour.²⁴ Court performance is the dual process of the expression and creation of power. This chapter will explore the ramifications of this parallel court structure for the performance career of the female courtier through the example of Lucy Harington Russell.

To conclude my investigation of Anne's performances and cultural agency, I shall briefly assess the performance of her funeral ritual. I shall then trace the impact of Anne's performance career through her successor in the Caroline court, Queen Henrietta Maria, and through to the emergence of the professional Restoration actress.

* * *

Anne's agency and self-representation cannot always be considered successful, but in order to appreciate its value we must reject the unhelpful opposition of success and failure to assess the impact of her career on the emergence of female performance and cultural agency. This is not a linear progression, but a series of negotiations, accommodations and compromises which centre around the fluctuating political and representative status of the queen consort. What this study makes clear is the extent to which the female masquing presence affects the conventions of the genre, and to which the court masque and cultural production itself are the medium for the performance of opposition.

Notes to introduction.

¹ Roy Strong's Henry, Prince of Wales is one of the most recent examples of such denigration; Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), p.16.

² Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', in The Mental World of the Jacobean Court, ed. by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.191-208; Marion Wynne-Davies, 'The Queen's Masque: Renaissance Women and the Seventeenth-century Court Masque', in Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance, ed. by S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), pp.79-104; Kim F. Hall, Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 'Sexual Politics and Cultural Identity in The Masque of Blackness', in The Performance of Power: Theatrical Discourse and Politics, ed. by Sue-Ellen Case and Janelle Reinelt (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), pp.3-18; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, Writing Women in Jacobean England (London and Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp.15-43. A prominent earlier study is Ethel Carleton Williams, Anne of Denmark: Wife of James VI of Scotland: James I of England (London: Longman, 1970). David Bergeron surveys and discusses the available literature; David Bergeron, 'Masculine Interpretation of Queen Anne, wife of James I', Biography, 18 (1995), 42-54 (p.42).

³ Stephen Orgel, Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.1-9; Aasand Hardin, "'To Blanch an Ethiop, and Revive a Corse": Queen Anne and the Masque of Blackness', Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900, 32 (1992), 271-85; Yumna Siddiqi, 'Dark Incontinents: The Discourses of Race and Gender in Three Renaissance Masques', Renaissance Drama, 23 (1992), 139-63; Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections in the Jacobean Queen's Masque', Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 35 (1995), 293-319; Diane Purkiss, The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp.202-6.

⁴ Karen Lee Middaugh, 'The Golden Tree: The Court Masques of Queen Anna of Denmark' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1994); Louise Olga Fradenburg, City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

⁵ Erica Veevers, Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Sophie Tomlinson, 'She that Plays the King: Henrietta Maria and the Threat of the Actress in Caroline Culture', in The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp.189-207; Suzanne Gossett, "'Man-maid, Begone!": Women in Masques', English Literary Renaissance, 18 (1988), 96-113.

⁶ Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Inigo Jones and the Theatre of the Stuart Court (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973), 2 vols.

⁷ Andrew Sabol, Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Court Masque (London: University Presses of New England for Brown University Press, 1982).

⁸ David Lindley (ed.), The Court Masque (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); David Lindley, Thomas Campion (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986); David Lindley, 'Embarrassing Ben: The Masques for Frances Howard', English Literary Renaissance, 16 (1986), 343-59; David Lindley and Martin Butler, 'Restoring Astraea: Jonson's Masque for the Fall of Somerset', English Literary History, 61 (1994), 807-27. Martin Butler, 'Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque', in Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts, ed. by J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.118-56. Jerzy Limon, The Masque of Stuart Culture (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990). Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', in Mulryne and Shewring, pp.87-117.

⁹ This project is also furthered outside this study in Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass: Anne of Denmark and Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness', in Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon, ed. by Julie Sanders, with Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, forthcoming), pp.1-30. Page references are taken from the manuscript.

¹⁰ The female masques were Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses (1604), Jonson's Masque of Blackness (1605), the double masque Hymenaei (1606) in which both male and female courtiers performed, Beauty (1608), Queens (1609), Daniel's Tethy's Festival (1610), Jonson's Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly (1611), and Campion's Lords' Masque (1613) which was also danced by both male and female nobles. These are followed by the unusual performance of Queen Anne in Campion's Somerset Masque (1613), and the performance of the schoolgirls of the Ladies Hall in White's Cupid's Banishment in 1617.

¹¹ Prominent exceptions to this anglocentric bias are the works of Roy Strong, Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); Roy Strong, Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650 (London: Boydell Press, 1984); John Peacock, The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹² This section draws heavily upon my discussion of female performance within the masque in Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.8-12.

¹³ Ben Jonson, Hymenaei, in Stephen Orgel (ed.), Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), pp.75-106, p.75; Blackness, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.47.

¹⁴ Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.7-8.

¹⁵ Jonathan Sawday, The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p.76. I am grateful to Christian Billing for drawing this to my attention.

¹⁶ Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.19-25.

¹⁷ Sir Dudley Carleton's comments concerning the performance of Blackness are well known:
At night we had the Queen's Maske in the Banqueting House, or rather her Pageant [...] Their Apparell was rich but too light and Curtizan-like for such great ones. Instead of Vizzards, their Faces, and Arms, up to the Elbows, were painted black, which was Disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; *but it became them nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly sight then a Troop of lean-cheek'd Moors.*

C.H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson (eds.), Ben Jonson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), X, p.448. The masquers' transgressive blackness was rectified in the performance of Beauty; Beauty, in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.61-74; Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.15-18.

¹⁸ Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.120, citing Joseph Loewenstein, Responsive Readings: Versions of Echo in Pastoral, Epic and the Jonsonian Masque (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p.101.

¹⁹ Fradenburg, p.76.

²⁰ Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.1-30.

²¹ Robert C. Evans discusses Cupid's Banishment in relation to Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue in "'Other Men's Provision': Ben Jonson's Parody of Robert White in Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue", Comparative Drama, 24 (1990), 55-77.

²² Sir John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 10 February 1614, in McClure, I, p.507.

²³ N.R.R. Fisher, 'The Queenes Courte in her Councill Chamber at Westminster', English Historical Review, 108 (1993), 314-37.

²⁴ Lewalski, p.95.

Chapter One. Marriage and the performance of the romance quest: the Scandinavian and Scottish context of Anne of Denmark's court performance.

Late autumn 1590 finds James VI of Scotland embarking upon an undertaking anomalous in both the history and the historiography of his life. Having received word of the successful completion of the proxy ceremony of his marriage with Anne, the second daughter of the late Frederick II of Denmark, James was informed of an unexpected delay to his bride's journey to Scotland. Faced with insurmountable seas and the potential destruction of their ships, the Danes had taken shelter on a part of the Norwegian coast under Danish control. Frustrated, James VI took the remarkable decision to fetch Anne himself, braving the Baltic's winters seas in a gesture which startles commentators accustomed to the image of James as a timorous man.¹ Though out of character for its protagonist, both the act and its documentation have all the components of the literary romance quest. The underlying pattern of James's journey is that of the prince's voyage over perilous seas to a distant and enchanted land to claim his prize, avoiding the malevolence of both Danish and Scottish witches.² The statement in which James declares his reasons for his departure from Edinburgh is itself also a reinscription of the heroic quest of romance: 'for as to my awne nature, God is my witnes, I could have abstenit langair nor the weill of my patrie could have permitted'.³ James, the monarch sacrificing himself to the adventure of matrimony for the good of the nation, is figured as the active, questing warrior-hero whose sexuality is directed not by personal desire but by the common weal, a sentiment echoed in

James's verse on his Danish journey in which he figures himself as under the control of God's will - 'to eschue his destinie in no man's hands it lies'.⁴ This is an intelligent stance for a king with little personal inclination towards marriage.

The marriage between Anne and James, celebrated on 20 August in a service in Kronborg Castle between the bride and James's proxy, George Keith, the Earl Marischal, was negotiated against a consistent background of Scoto-Danish trading and political contact.⁵ Gordon Donaldson has described the force of this cultural and economic interchange as at least as influential as that between Scotland and France or the Netherlands.⁶ William Fowler, later Anne's secretary and the composer of entertainments for Prince Henry's baptism, accompanied the 1589 mission to Denmark as the city of Edinburgh's paid negotiator with the task of raising the profile of the burgh's needs, an indication of the importance of established and potential trade links.⁷ The cementing of trading, intellectual and cultural contact between the two nations through the dynasty building of royal marriage has a precedent in the 1469 union of James III and the Danish princess Margaret (daughter of Christian I).⁸ One tangible indication of the importance of these links between the two nations within courtly entertainment is found in Pitscottie's record of James IV's 1507 tournament of the Black Lady, which was announced one hundred days before the event 'to the effectt that france ingland and denmark micht haue knowledge of the samyn and quha that pleisit to cum thairto as thay thocht guid.'⁹

As an area of research interest, Scottish court culture has long been a poor cousin of the investigations carried out into those of England and the major European

nations. That of early modern Denmark is in an even greater state of neglect, due to the perception of its marginalised relationship to 'mainstream' Renaissance Europe and to the linguistic difficulties involved in investigating archive material. Both situations seem to be changing.¹⁰ Still, despite early modern Scotland's flourishing native aristocratic culture, intensely open to continental and especially French influence, there is a comparative lack of secondary material. Since 1927, the main text has been Anna Mill's Medieval Plays in Scotland, supplemented in 1969 by Helena Mennie Shire's Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under James VI. Mill in particular is useful for her documentation of the records of performance. My approach in this chapter, however, reacts primarily to a recent investigation of the court culture of James IV offered by Louise O. Fradenburg in City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland, published in 1991.¹¹ The majority of attempts to deal with Scottish aristocratic cultural expression have focused upon poetry and in particular the literary renaissance of the Montgomerie circle in James VI's court; little assessment has been made of the court's performance traditions.¹² Despite the preconception that Scotland was not a performance culture, its single theatrical expression Lindsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, there was a relatively vibrant court culture in the early modern period; the court of Mary Stuart hosted the first Renaissance *magnificence* held in Britain, and James VI was himself a masque writer and a supporter of the theatre against the objections of the Kirk.¹³ This neglected field of research is fruitful in its own right, but its analysis also fulfils another agenda in the rejection of the anglocentric bias so evident in studies of Jacobean court culture. It is for this reason that female performance within the Scottish court, in interludes, entries and progresses, must be accounted for. Early modern

Scotland appears to have been a relatively more liberated site of female performance than contemporary England, a situation relevant to the formation of Anne's career in both Scotland and England.

In this chapter I examine three specific celebrations held under the auspices of the Danish and Scottish courts. I look first at the 1589/90 Scandinavian marriage celebrations, Anne's Edinburgh entry and coronation in 1590, and the 1594 christening of Prince Henry in Stirling. These performances, the direct result of James's departure from Edinburgh, are the rites of marriage, birth and crowning which reveal the gender dynamics of early modern courtly society. Finally, in order to demonstrate the interaction of these performative discourses with that of the culture of the English Jacobean court, I trace Anne's agency and representation through these three entertainments and into the 1603 Stuart coronation in London.

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The motif of the romance quest common to the documentation of James VI's Norwegian journey and to the performances which follow it is a means of positioning Queen Anne within court ritual. The reconfiguration of romance narrative in performance is a means of understanding this voyage through its containment within the court's communal self-expression. Identifying Denmark as the other of the Scottish court and the repository of exotic feminine forces, it is an attempt to assimilate and defuse the threat of the ambiguous queen consort, the representative of a foreign power who marries into sovereignty.¹⁴ Following the rule of the French

educated Catholic Mary Stuart, the threat of an alien female political engagement is intensified. The perception of the nature and role of the queen consort defines the parameters within and beyond which Anne can operate.

James VI's self-representation as questing hero has as much in common with shifting perceptions of marriage itself, which undergo a radical long-term alteration in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, as with his own need to refigure his marital reluctance into the sacrifice of the benevolent monarch. The quest motif is necessarily gendered; post-Reformation conduct books reject the Pauline conception of marriage as only marginally superior to damnation, and seek to ensconce it within a discourse of heroism - marriage 'is an adventure, for whosoever marries, adventures; he adventures his peace, his freedom, his liberty, his body; yea, and sometimes his soul too'.¹⁵ Though she refutes the concept of a monolithic Protestant discourse of companionate marriage, Mary Beth Rose concludes that the female marital adventurer is elided from these texts, which exist primarily to emphasise masculine courage.¹⁶ James's venture across the Baltic seas bears a strong relation to the perceived commercial heroism of the first colonialist ventures to exploit the 'New World'. Marriage is an explicit negotiation of danger and threat, commercial in the commodification of the bride and heroic in the actions of the groom, and the gendered discourse of marriage as quest impacts forcefully upon the performances created by James's Norwegian marital exploit. The fashioning of the Scottish monarch as the questing hero is interesting in its own right for its relationship to the cultivation of chivalric myths by Elizabeth I, the southern female monarch to whose throne James aspired. Yet this motif is also extremely revealing of the perception of Anne of

Denmark as queen consort within Scottish court performance. If James VI is inscribed as the sanctified warrior-king, what scope does this leave for female self-representation within the narratives (written and performed) of these events? What representational strategy portrays the object of the quest - the wife? Using the quest motif to access the performative representation of the queen consort, I attempt to identify Anne's engagement with the dynamics of these northern cultures.

The immediate conclusion would seem to be that there is relatively little room for feminine agency in these entertainments. Anne is consistently represented as the passive object of the quest which these entertainments embody. Both her performance and spectatorship conform to courtly perceptions of the queen's function. The political, historical and ritual documents of the Norwegian journey attempt to record it as the sole action of James VI, granting his wife no volition. These rites are the locus of conflict between female self-fashioning and the need of the patriarchal court hegemony to offer an external performative definition of femininity. The narrative image of woman as 'reward' (the co-referent of that of the king as questing hero) shapes all three entertainments and I will suggest that it also resonates through later English performances.¹⁷

In tracing the queen's representation through these entertainments, it is also possible to establish the tradition from which Anne's later oppositional stance develops. Anne's career alters with age and maturity. David Stevenson comments on her early passivity, noting that all that emerges of Anne from the documentation of her marriage is a space where her reactions should be.¹⁸ Yet this is at a significantly

early stage in her personal development. I would argue that Anne's increasing maturity and influence, her engagement with Scottish factional politics, and her conversion to Catholicism all contribute to the statement made in her public refusal of the Protestant sacrament in the 1603 London coronation. I read this as a gesture of public self-representation and a statement of active self-fashioning which develops from her former passivity. The necessary presence of the female in the performance of state empowers the elite women: the presence of the queen is integral to the coronation, yet it grants Anne a platform for the performance of opposition to the ideology of the dominant court faction.

Within the romance genre, the exotic other is figured through femininity and through the marker of another group marginalised from the centre of mainstream culture - blackened skin. Blackness, enacted by 'actual' black performers or by the impersonation of blackness by white performers, is a marker of difference closely connected to Anne's performance career. Manifested most forcefully in Jonson's masques of Blackness and Beauty in the English Stuart court, problematic because of the over-intimate association between this imagery and the person of the Queen, Anne's liminal status as both woman and foreigner is also signalled very clearly in these earlier performances through the consistent presence of blackness. Such an expression of the queen's alien status is not novel in Scots court performance; it is present in the court of James IV almost a century before Anne's arrival, where it expresses the problematic relationship of the Scots to an English queen (Margaret Tudor).¹⁹ The clustering of images of the foreign and the feminine are common

throughout the entertainments that I will examine, in black female performers and transvestite or black-faced knights.

In dealing with the convergence of cultural influences upon Anne's later masquing, it is vital to grasp the extent to which both James and Anne were distanced from the southern culture. On reaching England, both are entering a foreign nation with a distinct courtly culture. Yet Anne's difference is intensified still more by the convoluted process of cultural transmission from Denmark, through Scotland to England. This chapter culminates with a study of Anne's public renunciation of the Protestant communion and her conversion to Catholicism; religious non-conformity is yet another marker of difference, closely connected with those of femininity and blackness. In an age in which private religious difference was made acceptable by the public representation of conformity to the state ideology, Anne's gesture is an intentional performance of opposition. The refusal of the Protestant sacrament as a performance of difference, and the gesture of withholding, absence and refusal which it entails, resonate throughout emergent female performance in the English Stuart court.

This chapter is not a comprehensive documentation of the traditions of the Scottish and Danish courts. Instead, I use specific entertainments and rituals to illuminate aspects of their performance traditions and ideologies relevant to Anne's English masques and to contextualise their statements of opposition. The traditions of performance in which Anne was versed impact upon the Stuart court performances in England and give a greater insight into their gender dynamics.

The Scandinavian celebrations.

The most comprehensive account of the Scandinavian marriage celebrations are found in an anonymous Danish account for Christian IV. This document has recently been discussed in David Stevenson's Scotland's Last Royal Wedding, where its translation by Peter Graves is an important publication of a valuable but obscure text. Suggestions for the authorship of this account (previously only summarised in English) include Anne's Danish court chaplain, Johan Sering, and Nicolaus Theophilus, secretary to the Danish Ambassadors who accompanied Anne to Scotland.²⁰ The account not only deals with events in Scandinavia, but offers a fresh perspective on Anne's Edinburgh entry and coronation. This text's detailed discussion of the events of the winter of 1589-90, and Stevenson's historical reconstruction allows me to proceed directly to the analysis of the performances which make up this marriage.

James VI's stance as the questing romance hero is echoed in his adoption of the role of the lover in his Amatoria, Petrarchan love verses which fall comically short of their intended ideal.²¹ James's performance as the romantic lover is that of the ideal Renaissance prince, the private manifestation of the public role of the monarch sacrificed to marriage, and he goes on to fulfil this constructed role in his quest to rescue the endangered beloved.²² Sailing from Edinburgh on 22 October 1589, he was sighted off the Norwegian coast at Flekkerøy seven days later. This journey is the logical outcome of the pressing Scottish political situation and of the roles James has chosen to perform.²³ The king continues to play out his self-scripted roles; on finally

reaching Oslo, David Moysie records that James ran to Anne ‘with buites and all’, in a display of energetic masculinity fitting to both the impatient lover and hero.²⁴ Yet on this occasion James’s role-playing is threatened with unmasking when Anne refuses to play her part:

His Majestie myndit to give the Queine a kisse efter the Scotis faschioun at meiting, quhilk scho refusit as not being the forme of hir countrie. Marie, efter a few wordis priuely spokin betuix his Majestie and hir, thair past familiaretie and kisses.²⁵

Depending on interpretation, Moysie paints either a picture of blushing female chastity, or a less attractive image of a woman persuaded to concede to the demands of her new ‘lord’.²⁶ Stevenson points out that this incident is the sole expression of Anne’s will in the documentation of her marriage, yet even this rare glimpse is revealing.²⁷ As Moysie implies, Anne’s rejection of James’s advances result from a clash of culturally determined manners. Yet it also prefigures Anne’s later, more meaningful rejections of her husband; the refusal to perform is to become an integral part of Anne’s performance career. Whether she is adhering to Danish custom, feigning feminine modesty or enacting true shyness, it is significant that Anne’s will finds its sole documented expression in a gesture of non-co-operation.

Anne was brought up by her grandparents at the court of Mecklenburg; little is known about her formal education, but the evidence suggests that she was educated in German (the Danish courtly language), vernacular Danish and Latin.²⁸ Evidence for the latter is found in the account of the 1590 Edinburgh entry, where the Netherbow tableau is ‘spokin in Latyne becaus the queane understood na Scotis.’²⁹ Before Anne left the Danish court for Scotland, therefore, she had at least a grasp of the language

of the European aristocrat and humanist. The appointment of a French schoolmaster in March 1589 confirms that Anne had begun to learn French to communicate with James and demonstrates the existence of an educative structure within the Danish court.³⁰ This, and the fact that Anne also learns both Scots and English (advancing rapidly in the former) dispels preconceptions of her lack of education and ability.³¹ The implication is that Anne benefits from the educational structures available for (royal) women in the Danish court.³² Within early modern European court culture, education in foreign languages is easily attainable. During her thirteen years in Scotland, Anne's closest friendship, with Henrietta, Lady Huntly, was conducted in French.³³ Linguistic competence is also a marker of difference and, in the case of the Edinburgh entry, a potential barrier to the communication of the city's demands to its queen. Language both facilitates and problematises cultural transmission, linguistic difference is a powerful marker of community and exclusion.

Though some Danish aristocratic women were educated, we cannot be sure of the extent of this education, nor of their influence within court circles. Women in both contemporary Denmark and Scotland kept their maiden names and their bonds of family kinship after marriage; though this stresses the politicised nature of marriage, the extent of feminine influence remains unknown.³⁴ The information gleaned from the Danish account shows that the Danes are careful to safeguard Anne's status and the independence of her income in her marriage, to the extent that a feud later develops between Anne and Chancellor Maitland (see below). Yet these safeguards show a fairly standard courtly perception of femininity - though concerned for Anne's welfare, the Danes expect that she should reciprocate and 'please her lord'.³⁵

It becomes clear, however, that Anne's mother, Queen Sophia, is an important role model for her daughter. Deeply implicated in cultural patronage, Sophia supported Tycho Brahe's investigations, visiting his observatory on Hven.³⁶ Furthermore, her career demonstrates her political engagement. Described in the Danish marriage account as 'mighty queen and regent of Denmark', Anne's mother was involved in a long term struggle to rule as independent regent during Christian IV's minority, an effort which constitutes a pattern for Anne's own failed bid for the English regency during James I's 1617 progress to Scotland.³⁷ Despite Sophia's failure, even the joint authority she held with a specially established regency council, headed by Niels Kås, was something of a victory given the recent Danish practice of electing a regent from the male *rigsraåd*.³⁸ Sophia's ambitions are perhaps alluded to in the title she chooses for herself in correspondence with James VI: 'Regina'.³⁹ Negotiations for the Stuart marriage were conducted between the Scots and the *rigsraåd* and regency council.⁴⁰ Keith's report, written two days after the church wedding, does not mention Sophia as active in the negotiations.⁴¹

Another significant area obscured by neglect is that of Danish court performance, and in particular female, aristocratic non/participation. Mara Wade's research has made inroads into this uncharted territory, but at this point evidence has not been found to support or deny Danish courtly female performance, let alone female performative speech. Yet within a research field dominated by Italian, French and English cultural models, perhaps it is necessary to state the possibility of Danish cultural difference - we cannot assume that Danish court practice either conformed to or varied from those of the mainstream European nations. It seems that on occasions

Danish noblewomen were the instigators (although not the organisers) of court entertainments; the Danish account mentions that on 5 November 'the well-born Fru Ide remarked that he [Bishop Jens Nilssøn] should arrange something for the entertainment of her ladyship [Princess Anne].'⁴² The account, however, never expands on this incident.

The nature of queenship: Queen Anne and the absolutist dowry.

Within early modern courtly culture, the nature of queenship is intimately tied to marriage, the means by which most queens arrive at sovereignty.⁴³ In 1590, however, recent Scottish, Danish and English experience places the conventional queen consort at a premium; at her marriage Anne enters a role of recent rarity and of a contradictory imaginative status. For the receiving nation the queen consort is both a gift and a threat; the bringer of the financial dowry and the heir, she is also the foreign woman who abandons her homeland, bringing with her a threatening difference. The queen consort is a nexus of otherness; as a necessary threat and a potential bounty, her nature, the shifting quality of which aligns her with the transformations of Circe, is celebrated in the ceremonies of marriage and crowning.

The gendered quest rhetoric defines Anne as the passive prize of James VI's hero-king. At her marriage, Anne is imaginatively aligned with the financial dowry which she brings to Scotland. Despite the many defiantly moral statements that neither side would barter for the bride, the commodification of the female in early modern marriage negotiation is a commonplace and both Danes and Scots jostle for

financial advantage.⁴⁴ A gift in herself, the queen is also the medium through which the marital adventurer attains the deferred prize of the heir - this is the queen consort as process. Beyond the tangible gifts of money and heirs, Anne is also the passive bearer of yet another, equally valuable, reward; her marriage forges international networks of political, dynastic, cultural and religious bonds between the courts - links more enduring than the quickly spent tocher.⁴⁵

Anne actively creates her Scottish court as 'a centre for contact with Denmark', manipulating her political and personal favour with Christian IV in introductions for Robert Gordon (uncle of the Earl of Huntly), and requests for aid for Sir William Stuart in his mission 'against the Turk', among others, and perhaps beginning in the early days of her marriage with the Danish request for the pardon of David Cunningham of Robertland.⁴⁶ Yet perhaps her most striking contribution is as the passive medium for an ongoing Scoto-Danish cultural exchange, and the nurturing of the development of absolutist ideologies of power in the contacts between these courts. During his visit to Hven, James left this souvenir couplet: 'Est nobilis ira leonis / Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos. Jacobus R.'⁴⁷ Although the doctrine of absolute rule is often considered the creation of the Stuart monarchy, such a discourse develops not within an ideological vacuum but in cultural exchange. While it is not surprising to find the germs of absolutism in James VI's couplet, therefore, it is more novel to suggest that these convictions may have matured in interaction with the Danish court.

As mentioned, the creation of Scoto-Danish networks of royal marriage is not a new phenomenon.⁴⁸ Despite a well established cultural interchange between individuals such as George Buchanan, Peter Young and Tycho Brahe, the negotiations for the Stuart marriage stimulated contacts, not least in allowing correspondents to meet face to face.⁴⁹ James VI's lengthy Danish stay provided many opportunities for such contact, as the king, based at Elsinore, indulged his intellectual tastes with visits to Copenhagen University and Roskilde Cathedral. On each occasion James engaged in theological debate; the Danish account states that James and Niels Hemmingsen, the 'leading Danish theologian of the age', discussed Calvinistic predestination.⁵⁰

Though not detailed in the Danish account, the most high-profile moment of intellectual contact took place on 20 March 1590 when James VI, accompanied by Maitland and Keith, visited Tycho Brahe's Hven observatory. Later, Brahe describes the Scots' visit and his admiration for verses 'written as they were amid drinking and talking, casually in fact, but with vigorous wit - which [Maitland] wrote as a souvenir on the door to the king's room when he left'.⁵¹ This paints a picture of a vibrant temporary academy, a forum for cross-cultural poetic creation.⁵² The verses which James and his entourage of learned statesmen composed on Hven are an indication of intercultural exchange through the medium of European humanism which continued after the marriage celebration, albeit erratically. Central to this exchange are Peter Young and Niels Krag; when Young announced Prince Henry's birth to the Danes, his discussions with Danish scholars led to Krag's appointment as historiographer royal.⁵³ Such contacts are manifest in the influence of Christian IV, 'the famous builder', on Scottish architecture, in the Danish publication (in Latin) of James VI's *Basilikon*

Doron and Daemonologie, and eventually culminate in Christian IV's seventeenth-century visits to the English Stuart court.⁵⁴

Though nominally an elective monarchy, with a strong institutionalised nobility defended by the *rigsraåd*, the emergence of an absolutist discourse in the Danish monarchy can be traced to the years immediately preceding Christian IV's accession and James's Danish visit.⁵⁵ The 1577 celebrations at Christian's baptism included a play of which the 'entire point had been that it is God, and not man, who chooses kings.'⁵⁶ Furthermore, Christian's 1596 coronation, marking the Danish entrance into the European discourse of politic magnificence and attended by Scots envoys, has been identified by Olav Lausund as the site of tensions between the emergent discourse of monarchical absolutism and an ongoing statement of aristocratic autonomy.⁵⁷ Bishop Peder Vinstrup's coronation speech expresses Christian's absolutism:

In Domini conclusa manu terrena potestas,
Pro meritis Reges addit et ille bonos:
Ipse Deus Regnum, vires et scepra tuetur,
Omnia ut auspicio prosperiore gerant.⁵⁸

The ceremony itself supports Lausund's assertion that absolutism 'had not as yet found fertile soil in Denmark'; the 1596 coronation contains two innovations which demonstrate the constructed nature of such rituals and the Danish nobility's agenda.⁵⁹ Vinstrup's statement of absolute monarchical power is first undercut by the unprecedented reading of the king's charter pledges to secure the rights of the *rigsraåd*. The elected monarch's debt to the nobility is then physically enacted as the aristocracy touch the crown before it is placed upon Christian's head, a performative

gesture of communal assent.⁶⁰ Within the coronation's creation and definition of kingship, the tensions and anxieties caused by the development of absolutism are revealed.

The seeds of absolutism present in the ideologies of both monarchies, and the possibilities for the exchange of this discourse in the Danish visit and ambassadorial envoys, imply that the late sixteenth century Scottish and Danish monarchies perhaps influence each other in their negotiations of power. Any simplistic notion of the exporting of a fully-fledged political theory from one country to another must be rejected, however, in favour of a more complex mode of mutual interaction. From the perspective of the Scottish nobility's fear of the transmission of the model of the apparently all-powerful Danish monarchy, the threatening aspects of this dowry once again highlight the dualistic nature of the queen.⁶¹ Anne is a passive figure within these circulations of power; cultural dissemination is effected by the networks of marital diplomacy rather than by the queen herself. Though James fashions himself an active role, Anne's impact is less than that of the sustained interchange of ambassadors at court ceremonials.⁶² As Anne's later political engagement demonstrates, individuals can aid this dissemination - it is also possible to trace the remnants of Anne's Danish library in Britain - but cultural networks are more influential than individual practice.⁶³ Anne's contribution to the dissemination of political and cultural theory, like the exchange of land and money, is passive. The queen consort is both a commodity to be exchanged and simultaneously the medium through which that exchange is effected.

Performing the King's will (I): wedding masque and proxy marriage.

Before James VI crossed the seas to rescue his bride, the couple were already inextricably united in the civil ceremony of 20 August, for which the Earl Marischal acted as proxy. Stevenson publishes a plan which briefly details the ceremony's intended order.⁶⁴ This plan bears several similarities to the later text of Jonson's 1606 masque Hymenaei, part of the marriage celebration of Frances Howard and the Earl of Essex. Because of the couple's youth (the bride was thirteen and the groom fourteen), consummation was delayed and in deference the final epithalamion was not sung in its entirety. Jonson's annoyance is recorded, but the reason for the omission is not, and the published transcript records the poem in full, reasserting the masque's ideal form.⁶⁵ This idealisation continues since, in order to conceal references to the couple's scandalous divorce, their names are carefully elided from the published text. Both Hymenaei and the Danish civil marriage plan are, therefore, idealised texts detailing the intended courtly performance of marriage. Both are also the secularised enactment of religious ceremony; David Norbrook describes the masque form as occupying the position formerly held by pre-Reformation religious ritual.⁶⁶ Furthermore, such a comparison illuminates the representation of the bride and groom, played by male actors in Hymenaei and by Anne and the Earl Marischal in the proxy marriage. Apparently isolated in the performance of her own identity, Anne's assumption of the role of bride within her own identity is itself another level of performance. It is fruitful to analyse Anne's performance in the light of that of the 'personated' bride of Hymenaei, the Jacobean court's archetypal marriage masque, and of Anne and James's shifting relationship to performance.

It is hardly surprising that two rituals rooted in the shared ideologies and ceremonials of Renaissance courtly marriage should resemble each other. Jonson's reconstruction of the marriage service through the filter of classical Roman ceremony is closely aligned to the earlier Danish ceremony. Both involve the bearing of symbolic torches, the approach to the altar, and the impersonation (by nobles or professionals) of the groom and, in *Hymenaei*, also of the bride. The mounting of the bed is a particularly important aspect of the marriage ceremony, and pivotal in the Danish plan. Early modern marriage was defined by consummation, therefore this act finds a ritual embodiment in both ceremonies.⁶⁷ Though *Hymenaei* does not explicitly ritualise the sexual encounter as the proxy marriage does, the epithalamic masque tends always towards the goal of consummation, in which it is finally thwarted. The lack of consummation on each occasion indicates the rather tenuous relationship of both these rituals to their political moment. Though the Danish ceremony is the legally binding contract which the masque exists to celebrate, the rituals of proxy marriage and *Hymenaei* demonstrate the representation at the heart of marriage.

The proxy service was not unusual in early modern royal marriage, other prominent examples include the 1502 London proxy union of Margaret Tudor and James IV of Scotland, and that of Henry IV of France and Marie de Medici in Florence in 1600.⁶⁸ However, the proxy's performance remains relatively unexplored. Though a skilled diplomat, George Keith was chosen as James VI's proxy primarily for his wealth; the proxy was usually performed by the king's favoured ambassador in the bride's home nation.⁶⁹ The proxy's impersonation of the body of the king in state ritual is closely related to contemporary theorisations of the king's two bodies.⁷⁰

Another ceremonial plan reveals the extent to which the proxy assumes the monarch's identity; the plan for Prince Henry's 1594 baptism details setting a chair 'for the Queen of England, [...] where her ambassador to the baptism shall be placed'.⁷¹ Such a transfer of authority highlights the construction of monarchical power and reveals the status of that power itself as performance. Recent critical investigations into the performance of the monarch (king or queen) have focused upon the subversive potential of such performance upon the public stages of Renaissance England.⁷² Jonathan Goldberg has traced the Renaissance metaphor of the king as actor through James VI's Basilikon Doron back to the reign of Elizabeth I; his investigation of the interplay between the image of the monarch as ruler and the performance of the role of the monarch by professional actors concludes that 'such representation was potentially revolutionary, or demeaning.'⁷³

There is, of course, a distinction between the impersonation of the monarch on the professional stage and by a favoured subject within state ceremonial. The proxy's legitimised performance is designed to propagate the order of which the monarch is the figurehead. An obvious mark of favour, the proxy performance is one of the most self-evidently political of the Stuart court: to play the king is to perform the power structures of the court. Furthermore, since Keith's identity remains intact, the fact of his impersonation and James's absence evident to all, his performance is closer to the 'personation' demanded of a masquer than to that of the professional actor, and is remarkably similar to the performance of the transcendent monarch by the individual ruler. Yet it is this very shared performativity of proxy and monarch which reveals the

weakness within this legitimate transfer of authority and exposes the conventions underlying the role of the monarch to the gaze of the audience.⁷⁴

Keith's impersonation of the king within state ritual interrogates the structures of favour in the Scottish mission most dramatically in a dispute between the Earl Marischal and the parvenu Chancellor Maitland after the latter's arrival in Danish territory with James VI.⁷⁵ The disturbance focuses upon the status of Keith and the original ambassadors in relation to the recently arrived entourage.⁷⁶ After James relieves him of his duties, Keith claims precedence over the new-comers, pointing to his position as ambassador and to his role as proxy.⁷⁷ Although there is a risk of over-interpreting the historical evidence, the impersonation of the king perhaps communicates some of its transcendence to the performer, a threatening demonstration of the transferable nature of royal identity.⁷⁸ Yet James's support for Maitland is a forceful reminder of the ephemeral nature of the creation of aristocratic power through performance. James, later so dependent upon the performance of power, here defuses the threat posed by his alternate, maintaining royal control of this ritual negotiation of power.

Keith's proxy performance also further illuminates James VI's own performance as king, and its positioning within the ceremonial policies of the Stuart court. In particular, comparisons can be drawn between James's position in relation to the proxy wedding and to Hymenaei. James is the privileged spectator of Hymenaei, watching as an actor performs the role of the bridegroom. Keith's performance

prefigures that of this actor in that both represent both bridegroom and king, a dualism which, although self-evident, needs unpacking.

Hymenaei's main conceit is union - that of marriage, (both the Howard/Essex and Scottish/Danish matches) and of the territorial and political union of Scotland and England under James I. James's own famous statement of Stuart political rule; 'I am the Husband, all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife', clarifies the extent to which the king and husband are analogues of authority, and marriage a marker of their power.⁷⁹ To impersonate the bridegroom is therefore to impersonate the king. In both cases, though for different reasons, this impersonation is caused by James VI's withdrawal from performance. James is the absent presence at the heart of each ceremony, relinquishing active performance and creating the potentially threatening enactment of his role as monarch. This sustained withdrawal throughout James's reign suggests that the pattern of the proxy maps onto his own performance career more naturally than does that of the romance quest hero.

What of Anne's performance? How does her role as bride illuminate that of the queen consort and her later Jacobean performances? Hymenaei, imaging political union in marriage ceremonial, reassesses the Scoto-Danish alliance and Anne's entrance into sovereignty sixteen years after the fact; within a masque described as 'an extended apologia for ritual', Jonson calls on recurring court performance.⁸⁰ Hymenaei is the performance of international dynastic union and the gendered construction of Jacobean courtly power. In both instances, the bride's body is the passive goal,- the image of the woman as reward is in play. Yet despite this passivity,

Anne's actual participation in the state marriage service contrasts with James's withdrawal and prefigures her active relationship to performance in the English court. The plan offers a utopian ideal of the consort's behaviour in her virtual elision, intended silence and deference to the demands of the ceremonial. In addition to the proxy wedding and the actual ceremony itself which took place on 23 November in the Great Hall of the Old Bishops Palace in Oslo, Williams offers the unsubstantiated claim that James also demanded the repetition of the ceremony by Lutheran rites at Kronborg on 21 January 1590.⁸¹ If such a ceremony did take place, it owes its existence to the nature of early modern marriage, which the church service merely confirms; such an obsessive repetition highlights the moment's performative nature.⁸²

Hymenaei is just such a public ceremonial ratification of the marriage contract. The goal of consummation, from which it must pull back, is here suggested in the epithalamion; both performances seek to define sexuality as necessary to and confined within the marital bed - the masque's main action is the diversion of the humours' attempt to unleash sexuality from these confines. In attempting to define marriage, Hymenaei also attempts to dictate the terms of female marital engagement. The watching brides, Frances Howard, and by implication Anne, are faced with the patriarchal courtly ideal of the bride in the person of the boy actor. While Anne is implicated in the apparently conformist performance of the queen consort and bride in her own marriage, both she and Frances Howard are the more distanced audience of Hymenaei's masculine performance of the idealised bride. The 'personated bride' is an emblematic picture of chastity; the bride's girdle and loose hair symbolise virginity (a controversial point at Howard's 1613 remarriage), the mouth, associated with the

female sexual organs, is hidden by a veil which, with the tools of the feminine labour of spinning, signify a chaste retreat from the world into the feminine realm of the domestic. The masculine performance of femininity is that of the courtly ideal, displayed in the communal ritual of the masque.

Perhaps a glance at the performances which surround Hymenaei will further illuminate this trend. The first English Jacobean court masques, Daniel's Vision (1604) and Jonson's Blackness (1605) present Anne in guises considered demeaning to the courtly ideal of the feminine and cause scandalised comment. The Masque of Beauty (1608) intended to complement and complete Blackness, was delayed by the performance of Hymenaei - by the masculine performance of the ideal against which Anne has so recently offended. Yet it is precisely because Hymenaei must pull back from consummation that this ideal is undermined. Disrupted by political fact and by oppositional female sexuality, the ideals of Hymenaei and the proxy marriage are representations of the feminine ideal which cannot survive within the actuality of the Jacobean court.

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James remained in Denmark for the remainder of the winter, leaving Denmark on 21 April 1590 after attending the marriage of Anne's sister Elizabeth to the Duke of Brunswick - yet another opportunity for the forging of European connections - and arriving at Leith on 1 May.⁸³ The coronation took place on 17 May, apparently with Danish frustration at the delay, and was followed by the official entry into the city of

Edinburgh on 19 May.⁸⁴ These events, and the continuing definition of the queen consort and bride through the ritual of state and kirk, will form the basis of the next section of this chapter.

Anne's coronation and entry: creating the Queen of Scots.

This section will analyse the Edinburgh coronation and entry of Anne of Denmark on 17 and 19 May 1590 respectively, focusing on the representation of the queen consort in her presentation to the Scottish nation. Records and descriptions of these events have been gathered, the route of the entry established and the position of pageants mapped by scholars.⁸⁵ These investigations will form the foundation of my analysis of both the coronation and the entry, supplemented with the contemporary accounts of Moysie, Spottiswoode, Melville, Johnston, the Mar family papers and the description of the royal couple's arrival at Leith, and the Danish account.⁸⁶ I will analyse the dynamics of these performances, contextualising the coronation and entry, accounting for male and female performance and examining the representational strategies which surround Anne's participation. Citing evidence of female performance in early modern Scotland, I will also assess its impact upon Anne's individual representation in the performative construction of the queen consort within Scottish court society.

The Edinburgh coronation: bride and queen.

The coronation of Anne of Denmark, her ritual definition as queen consort of Scotland, took place in Holyrood Abbey several months after her marriage.⁸⁷ Though Renaissance consorts were often married and crowned within the same service, it is not abnormal for these ceremonies to be separated; indeed, in some cases the queen's coronation was delayed until after the birth of an heir.⁸⁸ The coronation is the public

performance of the legal fact of queenship; marriage is defined by consummation and the queen's sovereignty is defined through her fertility. The ceremonies of marriage and crowning have a shared imaginative status as rituals of union; hence the use of the term 'mareage' for the Scottish coronation, the description of Anne's hair as loose like that of a virgin bride in the account of the 1603 London coronation, and the placing of a ring on the king's wedding finger in that coronation (significantly, a practice discontinued after James's reign).⁸⁹ Elevated to queenship by union with James, Anne's subsequent marriage to the nation is part of the Stuart contract between ruler and people.⁹⁰ James's self-theorisation as husband to the nation places Anne in a position both necessary and unacknowledgable, the unavoidable existence of an actual family unit threatening to destabilise the base of James's power.⁹¹

If the performance of marriage and crowning defines Anne as queen consort, what does her performance reveal about the construction of her role? The conceptual marriage of the coronation defines the queen consort's sovereignty as dependent upon that of the king. The kirk becomes a theatricalised space; hierarchical seating creates a symbolic order similar to that of the court masque, and movement signifies different states of being - after Anne's crowning, she is raised to a higher seat.⁹² James is pre-eminent in this signifying space, his power emphasised in the movement of the crown and sceptre from the king, through the ranks of the most exalted lords (a reminder of the consort's dependence on masculine power structures), before reaching Anne.⁹³ Though seeming to dismiss the power of court ceremonial in denying Keith's precedence as proxy, James VI continues to use ritual as a means of marking and

creating favour; Maitland's prominence in the coronation demonstrates the shifting balance of royal favour.⁹⁴

The force of the coronation's ritual statement becomes apparent in the religious controversy it causes. The clergy's main objection (once the problematic Sunday coronation is agreed) centres on the ritual anointing of the queen, which kirk ministers regarded as idolatrous. James VI prevailed, but Robert Bruce, the presiding (unordained) minister, makes it clear that he is performing the king's orders against his will.⁹⁵ For the ritual anointing the queen's arm and shoulder (in the Scots account, specifically the breast) are bared, 'a bonye quantitie of oyll' poured upon them and white silk placed over the anointed areas. Anne then retires, emerging in new robes of purple velvet and white taffeta to mark her altered condition.⁹⁶

The disputed performance of the monarch's will over the passive female body illuminates later Stuart performances. I particularly want to compare the 1590 coronation with Jonson's Queens, danced at Whitehall in 1609. As the coronation is the communal witnessing of the sacramental exposure of the queen's body, this masque is the ritualised display of the aristocratic body to monarch and court - in both the performance of the female body is quasi-religious. This shared bodily display is also the erotic submission of the queen to the king. The physical display of the queen's passive body in the coronation positions that body as the site of dispute between the conflicting ideologies of king and kirk. James VI attempts to use the display to reinforce the concept of the divine selection of the monarchy, but Bruce's disclaimer and the absence of prayers during this part of the ceremony demonstrate

the ministers' attempts to empty the ritual of such quasi-sacramental significance, a struggle staged in the body of the queen.⁹⁷ In the precedence of the king's will, the female body is displayed in erotic subjugation to the word of the patriarchal law. While the passivity of the royal female body in the coronation is overturned by what I suggest in chapter three is the empowering specularity of the self-display of the female body in *Queens*, the Edinburgh coronation uses Anne's body to represent sovereign transcendence, but her specific corporeal individuality is subject to the puppetry of manipulation by the king's will. Royal and clerical will converge on and in the reified body of the queen.

The erotic submission enacted in the display of the female body destabilises the idealisation of both masquers and queens. In the baring of Anne's skin, the coronation's gendered vision of sanctified queenship echoes the display of the idealised queens' revealing costumes, showing their lower arms and breasts (figure 1).⁹⁸ Yet the coronation's legitimate exposure, matched in the erotic militarism of the queens' costumes, also echoes the masculine display of transgressive femininity in the transvestite performance of the Dame of the witches, who is 'naked armed, barefooted, her frock tucked'.⁹⁹ That the queens and witches, polarised extremes of female representation, share the transgression of bodily display complicates any simplistic distinction between these representations. *Queens*, operating within the constraints imposed upon female performance, employs a previously legitimate display of the passively eroticised female body within Anne's coronation as an active strategy of female performative opposition.

The coronation's manipulation of the queen's body as a site of ideological conflict renders Anne intensely corporeal. The Scottish account constantly denies her agency: 'hir Majestie wes raisit up aff the saitt [...] and be convoy of the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamiltoun wes brocht unto ane heicher place'.¹⁰⁰ Ritually elevated above her subjects and defined by the controlling movements of male courtiers, the queen is a reified corporeal presence. Such physicality is also found in Anne's silent acquiescence to the coronation oath. Though the Danish account is more equivocal, the Scottish description states that Anne does not speak, but signals her affirmation by 'twitching the Bible with her richt hand' after the oath is read to her.¹⁰¹ Distanced from the transgressive associations accompanying Renaissance female speech, Anne is placed in a corporeal relationship to performative language and the Bible's written text, gesturing her silent submission to the written law of king and kirk.

The queen's body is the ritual locus of ideological conflict, as a result of which this silenced female corporeality is variously interpretable. The problematics of this bodily text are evident in the variant readings which opposing factions impose upon Anne's corporeal assent to the coronation oath. There are startling discrepancies in Bruce's articulation of the demands of the populace upon their queen, implicated in the oath to which she will swear. The Scottish description of Bruce's speech includes the statement, 'we creave from your Majestie the confessione of the faith and religion quhilk we professe', absent from a Danish account which avoids representing a religious conformity which Anne has not in fact embraced.¹⁰² In the masculine-authored textual accounts, female physicality is appropriated to suit the needs of the disparate masculine structures of authority.

The oath itself is a strongly-worded one, defining its God (neither strictly Calvinist nor Lutheran) against the spectre of Catholicism and so avoiding the controversy embraced by the textual records.¹⁰³ It is in this non-specificity that Danish and Scottish faith finds its commonality, and where the beliefs of kirk and king converge. This fervent anti-Catholicism reveals yet another manipulation of Anne's role as queen consort within the discourse of religious faith; as I shall discuss below, James later exploits his wife's conversion to negotiate for the throne of England with the European Catholic powers. Yet Anne's silent performance also offers the female performer herself the opportunity of reinterpretation. In a later section, I interpret Anne's conversion to Catholicism and her corporeal performance of the refusal of state ideology in the London coronation as her own reinterpretation of her silent assent of 1590. In this later performance, she avoids a Calvinist/Lutheran opposition and the reification of the Edinburgh service through the physical expression of opposition. Though remaining distanced from language, the feminine agency and self-volition apparent in Anne's later corporeality is a striking performance of opposition and a direct rejection of the oath to which she passively performs assent thirteen years earlier.

The Edinburgh entry: gendered performance in early modern Scotland.

The 1590 Edinburgh entry follows a similar route to that established by the entries of Mary Stuart in 1561 and James VI in 1579. Entering the city at the West Port, it processes to Bow Street, the Butter Tron and the Tolbooth, to the Mercat Cross, enters St. Giles kirk, proceeds to the Salt Tron and the Netherbow and finally

enters Holyrood Palace.¹⁰⁴ The positioning and significance of the pageants which greet Anne also owe a great deal to those constructed for her predecessors; the three entries share pageants at the Tolbooth, Mercat Cross and St. Giles, the Salt Tron and the Netherbow.¹⁰⁵ Anne's entry demonstrates the dualistic nature of such royal pageantry, balancing panegyric with the reassertion of the monarch's duties to uphold the city's rights. I shall take the Danish account, by far the most comprehensive, as my main text, bearing in mind its substantial discrepancies with the Scottish records.

The 1590 entry differs from those of James VI and Mary Stuart in the distinct negotiation of power necessary for a queen consort. The advice offered to the queen consort defines her role; the political agenda of her reception is evident in her constant association with the virtues of statescraft in the pageants which welcome her to Edinburgh. The opening pageant of the angelic child who descends from a globe clutching a Bible and the keys to the city is suggestive of both the power and the dangers of sovereignty:

You shall have the power to do to us
whatever law and justice suggests to you
and to bring justice to all men.¹⁰⁶

As I shall discuss below, the pageant at the Butter Tron is one of several to involve female performers. Although these women do not speak, they and the masculine-performed female characters who vocalise their significance offer Anne a body of feminine advice. The Butter Tron pageant expresses the mutual contract and obligation of sovereign rule in terms of maternal shelter - 'We will treat you as our mother / And you shall be our brave refuge.'¹⁰⁷ Pageants such as those of the holy woman at the West Bow and the female virtues at the Tolbooth are designed to flatter,

but they also place a burden of action and decorum at the feet of the consort, addressing her as a political creature and demanding her intercession in the affairs of the nation.¹⁰⁸ The speech of the holy woman places the burden of the creation of the heir at Anne's feet and clarifies her status as intercessor between people and king:

You are to remember that God has created you, [...]
 you will bear royal children with honour,
 and also become a woman of intelligence
 whose virtues will shine both inwardly and outwardly.
 You will inspire your lord to good deeds
 and convert the people to the fear of God.¹⁰⁹

Later in the entry, recalling the pageant of Solomon's display of wisdom in James VI's 1579 entry, the 1590 East Port pageant of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon in search of his wisdom further clarifies the consort's intermediary position. Submitting to the superior wisdom of the king, Anne's dependence upon her husband's sovereignty reworks a motif which is to become an integral aspect of James's self-presentation.¹¹⁰

In examining Queen Anne's reception into Edinburgh, it is important to retain a sense of the independence of Scottish court performance and to contextualise this entry and the dynamics of female performance within Scottish social dictates and prohibitions. Proletarian female performance is a fact within the progress entertainments of such Scottish monarchs as James IV and Margaret Tudor, impacting upon the courtly experience of female performance. For example, accounts document female dance, and an entry for November 1501 details a payment to 'the madinnis of Forres that com to Ternway and sang'.¹¹¹ Staged before the monarch and the royal family, such vocal performance is sited within an official discourse of praise and royal

acceptance, but also appears to be the provenance of the non-aristocratic classes, rather than of the nobility. Such a situation seems also to differ from the greater restrictions on female performance (vocal or silent) in contemporary English practice. Such professional (wage-earning rather than itself a profession) female vocal performance in royal progress entertainments does not seem to take place in sixteenth-century England.¹¹² The available evidence suggests that there is a tradition of professional proletarian female song and dance clustering around the flowering court of James IV, establishing a discourse of female performance (danced, silent or sung) which impacts upon Anne's performance.

Non-aristocratic women occasionally performed on a professional basis within the Scottish court itself. The court of Mary Stuart is a useful precedent to that of Anne of Denmark. Records document Queen Mary's employment of at least two female fools or jesters, Nichola la Jardinière and Janet Mouche, and Mary's mother, Mary of Guise, employed a female fool named Serat.¹¹³ The names hint at the influence of the French cultural model in Renaissance Scotland, described by Fradenburg as particularly extensive within the court of Mary Stuart but also influential even before her return from France. With the resurgence of this French influence, Mary was the proponent of what has been described as Britain's first truly 'triumphant Renaissance festival', the 1566 baptism of the future James VI at Stirling.¹¹⁴ Fradenburg demonstrates that this French influence was introduced into a flourishing domestic Scottish court culture, and analyses the entertainments of the court of James IV at the turn of the sixteenth century as proof of this cultural engagement.¹¹⁵ The French influence upon Scots court culture was an ongoing one, manifested in the reign of

James VI in the individual influence of Esmé Stuart, the French-born Duke of Lennox.

Mary Stuart's activities provide evidence of the sanctioning of aristocratic female performance in the Scottish court. Returning from the Valois court of Catherine de Medici where women were profoundly politically and performatively engaged, Mary's cultural agency perhaps owes something to this model.¹¹⁶ Within the elite tradition of the Twelfth Night celebrations of the Queen of the Bean and of court masques, a striking example of female court performance also illuminates the practice of Scottish aristocratic transvestite performance. In January 1565-6, a banquet for the French ambassadors was followed by a masque in which Mary and her ladies presented daggers to their guests while 'clad in men's apparel'.¹¹⁷ Relevant to my later analysis of the male aristocratic transvestism in the 1594 Stirling tournament, this incident suggests a tradition of both Scottish courtly aristocratic female performance and elite transvestism. It seems clear, therefore, that early modern Scots culture has a tradition of sorts of professional proletarian female vocal performance and of aristocratic female court performance. What is less clear is whether this elite performance, which crosses the barriers of transvestism, also crosses those of speech or song.¹¹⁸

The 1590 Edinburgh entry does have a documented female presence. Johnston describes the nine muses at the Butter Tron; 'Thairefter com to a skaffald at the butter trowne qlk was plenisht with the fairest yong wemen of the toun coistlie apparellit with Orgenis playing and musitionis singing, qr ane bairne maid ane Latine

oresoun.’¹¹⁹ The Danish account also notes the performance of ‘nine worthy daughters of the citizenry [...] They were most splendidly dressed and they had beautiful gilded books in their hands. When her majesty arrived they curtsied deeply and a young person addressed her majesty on their behalf.’¹²⁰ The ‘young person’ has been identified as the son of John Craig; it seems that the choric burden is taken by the young male performers and that female speech is not permissible.¹²¹ These boys are the children of the citizenry, characterised as as young as eight by the Danish account - youth and social position frees these performers from restrictions which may operate on the aristocracy.¹²² Absolute female silence is contradicted, however, in The Receiving of James the Sixt, which notes that the women ‘sung verie sweete musicke’.¹²³ There are no records to implicate women in mixed-sex dances, the most comprehensive description of dance is that of the male performative dance outside Anne’s window at Holyrood which concludes the Danish account.¹²⁴ The discrepancies in the reporting of female performance and the tradition of a sung female performance in early modern Scotland suggests that female performance is possible within civic pageantry. These women are the daughters of citizenry; the entry is a civic pageant, offered to the monarch from the city. Though firm conclusions about Scottish aristocratic female performance cannot be drawn from this entry, Anne is exposed to female performance in her initial encounter with Scottish pageantry.

Transvestite boy actors are another striking aspect of the Edinburgh entry; ‘At the tolbuith was young bairnes on ane skaffald in wemenes cleithing representing peax plentie, polacie - Iustice Liberalitie and temperance qr euerie ane schew thair selfis and Naturallie in Latyne.’¹²⁵ The Danish account does not describe these performers

as transvestites; Calderwood, however, also describes the performers as disguised boys.¹²⁶ Their speeches present Anne with a conventional masculine performance of polarised female vice and virtue, closely connected with the queen's political involvement and her potential impact upon her people - Virtue reminds her to 'be virtuous and pious towards your subjects.'¹²⁷ The Danish account does, however, describe transvestite male performance in the Mercat Cross pageant of Bacchus and Ceres, mentioning 'four young lads in maiden's clothing' and in the pageant of the astronomer at the West Bow, in which the transvestism is only revealed when the actor describes himself as a 'holy woman'.¹²⁸ Costume is stripped away by the Danish reporter to reveal the boy actor beneath, suggesting a lack of familiarity with the conventions of feminine representation which the domestic spectators accept.

Anne's own participation in this entry seems primarily passive; she is the recipient of Edinburgh's demands to its new queen consort, offered through feminised imagery, female performers and transvestite male characters. Demonstrating little of Elizabeth I's agency in the coronation entry of 1559, Anne's passivity can be partly attributed to the very different demands on a queen consort rather than a queen regnant. As consort, she must intercede between subjects and king; both her royalty and her acceptance of dependence on the king is shown in the pageant of the Queen of Sheba's visit to and praise of Solomon. Yet while she is represented as dependent upon masculine royal power, her own royalty and her own responsibility within the contract of rule with the city are also emphasised. The restrictions of the position of the queen consort and the representative strategies which surround Anne in this pageantry are perhaps best instanced in the performance of the motif of blackness.

Black performers and white men in disguise: the ‘moors’ of the Edinburgh entry.

The Danish account of the Edinburgh entry reveals new information about the performance of the ‘moors’ who cleared a path for Anne’s coach through the crowd on her procession to Holyrood. There are several discrepancies between the Danish and Scottish descriptions, primarily over the number of black and blackened performers.¹²⁹ Although actual racial difference is accounted for in the detail of the black performer’s sword and his position as leader of his co-performers, only the Danish account reveals the performance of a ‘genuine’ black man, participating alongside those performing as black. Evidence of the latter has been available for some time; the city accounts mention seventeen masks and payments for the blackening of an unknown number of young men.¹³⁰ The presence of the black performer is supported by the reference to ‘Ane Moir’ in Anne’s household accounts from February 1590 and the presence of a black performer at Stirling in 1594.¹³¹ Yet the Danish account, distanced from Scottish performance conventions and in awe of the ‘absolute blackamoor’, strips down these conventions just as it strips down the layers of black cloth, body make-up and mask to reveal them as performative markers of blackness. The conflation of the distinct courtly traditions of black performance and the symbolic performance of blackness, highlights the representative strategies of blackness within Scottish royal performance. This unique form of crowd control is associated only with the alien figure of the queen consort.

The history of black performance and the performance of blackness in Scottish court entertainments establishes precedents for the ‘moors’ of Anne’s entry. Most

contemporary and intriguing is an apocryphal incident which took place in Norway during the Stuart marriage celebrations. Both Williams and Hall report an unsubstantiated incident in Oslo on the day of the wedding. Williams, in an unexamined expression of colonialist discourse, states that

James arranged a curious spectacle for the entertainment of the people of Oslo. By his orders four young Negroes [sic] danced naked in the snow in front of the royal carriage, but the cold was so intense that they died a little later of pneumonia.¹³²

Hall unpacks the racial assumptions of the description and performance, yet evidence for such a performance remains purely anecdotal.¹³³ The problematics of proving a black presence in Scandinavia and the unlikelihood that James VI conveyed these performers from Scotland multiply its uncertainty.¹³⁴ Yet this anecdote is useful in that it emphasises the high profile presence of black (or blackened) performers in Anne's career (both English and Scottish) and in particular in the 1590 Edinburgh entry. This unsubstantiated incident implies that the performance of royalty in the entry or court celebration is imaginatively linked with the performance of otherness, marked through racial difference. Such a link is substantiated through a consistent tradition of the performance of blackness in the Scottish royal entries of the sixteenth century, notably in Mary Stuart's 1558 marriage celebration, when 'moors' carrying the same white staffs served a similar function of crowd control.¹³⁵ This performance is repeated in Mary's 1561 royal entry, with fifty townsmen in black masks escorting the queen's coach.¹³⁶ The apparent absence of this motif from James VI's 1579 royal entry intensifies the connection between blackness and femininity as markers of otherness and difference intrinsic to the feminine performance of royalty.

The Danish account gives a glimpse into the process of the performance of blackness. Perhaps for reasons of cost or expediency several conventional methods for staging blackness were used; for instance, both masks and black make-up were employed. It is not clear whether some performers used facial make-up in conjunction with the mask or if its use was reserved for those without masks.¹³⁷ The masks' naturalism, which so impresses the Danish commentator, implies that they were not overtly grotesque. In addition to the blackening of the face, neck, arms, hands and thighs, some performers wore black sleeves and gloves in order to signal colour.

While my next chapter will discuss masquing dance, the Danish description of the 'moors' gait raises the profile of bodily movement as a category for the analysis of performance. While Scottish commentators merely describe the 'moors' as dancing, the Danish statement that each performer 'had been assigned a particular and special gait in imitation of various sorts of people' strips away the preconceptions of dance as a natural movement to reveal its performative essence.¹³⁸ At the same time, these comments emphasise the specificity of early modern dance, describing a Scottish dance apparently unfamiliar to the Danes. The 'moors' gait is a means of crowd control; more effective than violence, it is the physical performance of the aesthetic violence of difference, imaginatively equivalent to the corporeal performance of blackness. That difference is constituted in a conscious violation of the governing conventions of courtly movement. As I shall discuss in greater detail in chapter two, to dance difference is not to perform dance incompetently, but to perform dance which contravenes accepted conventions; some 'moors' dance jerkily, some low to the ground, and some with their heads down in disregard of their audience -

these will later be shown to be movements associated with the antimasque dances. Difference is performed through external markers of costume and make-up and internalised markers of corporeal movement; difference is signalled through a series of physical, non-verbal performances. Movement, like language, is a marker of community and of difference; the expression of a physical decorum antithetical to that of the court marks a difference already signalled in assumed or genuine blackness.

The corporeal marker of difference in dance is employed to keep order and to maintain the symbolic performance space around Anne. Dancing against convention, the 'moors' perform specifically to uphold the order of which they themselves represent the inverse; they operate as antimasque performers whose appearance presages the transcendent vision of the idealised court, encapsulated in the central figure of the queen. In so doing, their performance recreates the ordered imaginative space of court performance beyond its physical confines. An extremely effective way to clear the crowds, dance creates a symbolic performance space and, defining the crowd as spectators, distances them from the performance of royalty. The 'moors' white staffs of office, paralleling English court practice which used them to clear the masquing hall and create order, link this performance to those within the physical construct of the court and create space for the performance of royalty.

The physical space around Anne is highly symbolic. Created and maintained by representatives of anti-court decorum, the focal point of this spectacle of difference is the ambiguous figure of Anne herself. Surrounded by the antimasque vision of the 'moors', the queen is presented as the dualistic figure of order and threat whose

otherness must be assimilated into Scottish society. Creating a space of physical and imaginative difference around Anne's coach, this performance of racial difference also marks that of the queen consort. In doing so, however, Anne is also positioned as an intercessor between king and subjects; the white audience identify with their blonde queen over the heads of the performance of racial difference.¹³⁹

Focusing closely upon the physicality of the performers' bodies, their short, tight-fitting trousers, their blackened skin and their copious adornment, the Danish account expresses the erotics of the display of the male body in performance. These men's blackened bodies are jewel laden showcases for the Scottish nation's wealth. However, my next chapter will also reveal the spectators' intense focus on the erotics of the physicality of male dance to be a shared factor in accounts of court ceremonial. More immediately, the Danish writer's description establishes the 'moors' conceit. As John Burel's commemorative poem confirms, their seamen's tunics establish the conceit of the submission of the exotic to the authority of the Scottish throne.¹⁴⁰ This same conceit - the crossing of great distances by black performers to honour the monarchy - transferred to the blackened bodies of Anne and her ladies, is also that of Blackness. Though by no means original, what is striking (and becomes clearer in my analysis of the Stirling banquet entertainment below), is the extent to which Blackness calls on Anne's previous performances, refiguring her position within them to assert her performative and cultural agency. The English masque sees Anne's emergence from performative passivity; she takes the marker of difference upon herself in order to assert her own oppositional stance in a statement of female cultural agency. Blackness is unproblematic when associated with the body of the lower class male

performer, but is subversive when assumed by the female aristocratic body. This statement gains in impact when seen within the context of Anne's performative career, within which performances and motifs bear an intertextual relationship to each other.

The Stirling baptismal celebrations: the queen as mother and Medea.

In 1594, Anne fulfilled her marital role and delivered a healthy son to the king and the nation. 'The right Excellent, High, and Magnanime, FREDERIK HENRIE, HENRIE FREDERIK, by the grace of God, Knight and Barron of Renfrew: Lord of the Yles, Erll of Carrike, Duke of Rosay, Prince and great Steward of Scotland' and future heir to the throne of England, was born on 19 February 1594.¹⁴¹ The ongoing conflicts over the disputed land surrounding Dunfermline Abbey in the years between Anne's coronation and Henry's baptism reveal her concern for her status as queen consort and her determined political will.¹⁴² Yet beyond issues of income and territory, Anne's greatest political struggle was for control and influence over her first born son, Prince Henry.

Henry's baptism took place at Stirling on 30 August 1594, after prolonged delays caused by the absence of ambassadors and propines from the English court and by the total reconstruction of the Chapel Royal.¹⁴³ Grand festivities along the lines of continental *magnificences*, though dogged by financial and practical restraints, accompanied the heir's baptism, scripted, arranged and documented by William Fowler (Anne's secretary) and the Lord of Lendores. Given that Anne had just given an unstable nation an heir, it is appropriate that these entertainments should reflect the perception of royal marriage. Anne's role and representation within this festival reflect upon her perceived court status. Of particular importance is the positioning of the queen consort in relation to the historical events of her marriage, to the Norwegian

journey, and to her representation as both a gift in her own right and as the medium for the attainment of the deferred gift of the heir.

Despite its rushed and improvised air, Fowler's festival was designed to signal the magnificence of the Scottish court and advance James VI's succession to the English throne, and both Scots and anglicised contemporary variants of the text exist. It is not insignificant that it was the English special ambassador's absence which delayed the christening; when he does arrive he is prominent in the ceremony, carrying the baby to the altar. The ceremony itself also casts glances towards the English throne; the iconography of Hercules around the 'platform' of Henry's bed is a statement of intent for the child's future.¹⁴⁴ Within such a political text, Anne's representation must also be read in politicised terms; for the queen consort maternity is power, and Anne's representation as queen and mother throughout Fowler's text (both performed and published) is of the greatest relevance.

Fowler's published text reveals its agenda through its omissions. Queen Anne does not seem to be present during her son's baptism; although she is prominent at the banquet of the same evening and at the earlier tournament, she is not listed among those present in the church.¹⁴⁵ What could be the motivation for such an exclusion, in text or performance? There is no suggestion of illness on the part of the queen, no excuse such as those offered on so many occasions in the English court: 'the Queen not being present because of some indisposition'.¹⁴⁶ While non-aristocratic mothers (at least in England - Scottish practice remains an issue for investigation) did not attend baptisms because they had not yet been churched, the delay between Henry's

birth and baptism makes this unlikely.¹⁴⁷ Another unlikely explanation is Anne's conversion to Catholicism, which remains in the future. Significantly, this is not an isolated incident, she is also absent from the baptism of Charles I in Holyrood Palace in December 1600.¹⁴⁸

The woman who seems to usurp Anne within the christening ritual is the dowager Countess of Mar. Described within the Danish account of Anne's coronation as the woman 'who had brought up His Majesty King James of Scotland during his childhood', her prominence is based on her proximity to the king during his infancy, now extended to Prince Henry and the next generation of rulers.¹⁴⁹ In line with Scottish court tradition, James VI had in fact entrusted the care of his son to the Countess' son, the Earl of Mar.¹⁵⁰ Anne's struggle for custody of her son and eventual success has previously only been interpreted in terms of a clash of political ambition (James VI's) with maternal instinct (Anne's).¹⁵¹ While the influence of maternal concerns cannot be denied, Anne's conception of queenship and James VI's own response to her opposition formulates her actions as political; 'though he doubted nothing of her good intentions yet if some faction got strong enough, she could not hinder his boy being used against him, as he himself had been against his unfortunate mother'.¹⁵² Defined by her relationship to the king and the heir, the possession of that heir's favour after the death of the husband safeguards the queen consort's political status and secures her shift into the role of the dowager queen.¹⁵³

The Countess of Mar, the focus of much of Anne's later opposition, has appropriated the foundation of Anne's authority as queen consort, either excluding her

from the baptism ceremony by convention or forcing her to adopt a strategy of self-exclusion. The baptism of a royal infant is a powerful ritual moment from which to exclude the queen, whose status is defined through her motherhood.¹⁵⁴ Evidence suggests that Anne breastfed Henry; the issue of Henry's education becomes pressing when he is weaned from his mother and moves from the maternal space into the seemingly more political one of court society.¹⁵⁵ Breast-feeding, the incorporation of mother into baby, is an intensely corporeal signal of maternal bonding and possession which heightens the impact of the denial of access to the ritual naming of the infant and his acceptance into courtly society. Yet Anne's power within the politicised maternal space of the queen consort demands her exclusion from the ceremony of baptism, confining her within the maternal sphere in an attempt to deny the influence of this space.¹⁵⁶

* * *

One of the highlights of the banquet entertainment which followed the church ceremony was the entrance of a tableau of goddesses upon a chariot, pulled by a 'Moore'.¹⁵⁷ The presence of this performer is a hasty contrivance: the account outlines the original intention to use a lion to draw the chariot, a plan dropped for fear of an adverse reaction either on the part of the animal or the audience.¹⁵⁸ The analogy, not lost on critics, is one between blackened skin and bestial exoticism. The black man and the lion are used as interchangeable symbols of exotic physical strength; I shall suggest that the presence of black performers is a powerful manifestation of the anxieties concerning the boundaries of early modern Scottish court culture.¹⁵⁹

Although conclusive evidence does not exist, it is far from implausible that the unknown performer of this banquet interlude should be an 'actual' black man. The first recorded presence of black performers in Scotland dates back to 1505, in the court of James IV.¹⁶⁰ One manifestation of the black presence in performance is James IV's tournament of the Black Lady (1507 and 1508). A black woman, celebrated in Dunbar's 'parodic blazon' Ane Black Moir as the 'ladye with the meckle lippis' performed in each tournament.¹⁶¹ This exotic antithesis of courtly beauty is the prize of the tournament, juxtaposing performing slave with spectating noblewoman. Aligning himself with the exotic other against which the court defines itself, James IV fights for the Black Lady as the Black or Wild Knight: two symbols of the non-courtly and non-civilised converge, as Fradenburg sees it, to defuse courtly anxieties concerning the alien energies of femininity and of an exotic foreignness.¹⁶² The black female performer is represented, therefore, as something simultaneously to be striven for and vilified; a polarisation clearly posited by Dunbar, in the humiliation awaiting those who fail to win the Lady's more conventional favours of having to 'cum behind and kis hir hippis'.¹⁶³

The tournament which preceded Prince Henry's christening demonstrates a similar performance of the exotic and the feminine. Organised by Fowler and Lord Lendores (the latter also ran at the ring), this tournament costumes its participants in a manner which would, within English aristocratic performance, degrade their noble status. The Duke of Lennox, Lord Home and Sir Robert Ker were dressed as Turks and Fowler outlines an abandoned plan to costume three other unnamed noblemen as 'moors', discarded when they failed to appear. Most striking, however, is the

transvestite appearance of the Lords of Lendores and Buccleuch and the Abbot of Holyrood (the aristocratic holder of the abbey benefice), costumed as 'three Amazones in women's attyre, verie sumptuouslie clad'.¹⁶⁴ This performance unpacks the intense concentration of significance within that of the Black Lady, as the qualities of blackness, cultural (religious) diversity and femininity are dispersed throughout a group of aristocrats who perform these marginalised elements of courtly culture. Yet these two performances are in dialogue, pointing to a consistent defusion of the threat of diversity through its representation within the Scots court. Furthermore, when in 1561, the French ambassador Monsieur de Foys, accompanied by other nobles, ran at the ring 'dysguised and appareled thone half lyke women, and thother lyke strayngers, in strayne maskinge garmentes', their performance demonstrates both the place of ambassadorial exchange in the interaction of continental and Scottish court cultures and the close approximation of the feminine and the foreign as symbolic markers of difference.¹⁶⁵

The court of James VI shares the contemporary Danish court's elite performance of marginality, as the adoption of moorish and Turkish disguises by Christian IV and his noblemen in the tournament for his coronation demonstrates.¹⁶⁶ Both contrast with the English embargo on the effacement of aristocratic identity in disguise, using such disguise as a means to express and defuse anxieties of divergent and threatening masculinities within a discourse of chivalry. Initially encapsulated in the body of the Black Lady, Fowler's intended compact symbol is gradually dispersed through the tournament and the banquet interlude. Individual manifestations of the shared discourse of courtly magnificence and royal performance demonstrate striking

differences in the Scottish and English courts. Even the intention of an aristocratic performance of blackness is significant in the face of the reaction, founded on discourses of both class and gender, of the English courtiers to Anne's performance in Blackness. English court culture does not allow for aristocratic disguise within the masque form, yet Anne is versed in a Scottish court culture in which the aristocratic adoption of a disguise (be it transvestite dress or blackened skin) is an acceptable representative strategy.¹⁶⁷

In common with the 'moor' of the 1594 banquet, the Black Lady also figures prominently in indoor interludes. Pitscottie describes the Lady's part in a banquet entertainment in which she vanishes mysteriously in a magical cloud.¹⁶⁸ Court chronicles and poetry record a strong black presence throughout a century of Scottish elite performance, well into the court of James VI. To interpret the figure of the Black Lady is to unpack the conflated images of blackness and femininity which operate as markers of difference, foreignness and liminality. These same markers are still in place within the performances of James VI's court almost ninety years later to inscribe Anne of Denmark's liminal status as queen consort. The performance of the 'moor' of the Stirling baptismal celebrations is made in close physical and thematic proximity to female performance; the goddesses and the man drawing their chariot are silent spectacles of strangeness and otherness.

Present at the banquet entertainment after her absence from the church service, Anne witnesses a mode of female performance that illuminates her own later English performances. Anne, like the Black Lady, is created as the tournament prize when she

offers diamond rings to the victors as a mark of royal and sexual favour; in a reworking of James VI's dash for Norway, Anne once again becomes the passive prize of chivalry. Yet Fradenburg analyses the influence of the female gaze upon the tournament form; though reified and denied performance, the female spectator is simultaneously empowered to fashion the nature of masculine performance.¹⁶⁹ In the same way, Anne's presence as a spectator is a defining influence upon the interlude. Fowler describes the entry of the chariot and its tableau of 'six Gallant dames, who represented a silent Comedie'.¹⁷⁰ The fact that no record of payment exists for their performance may imply that these women are courtiers. There is a Scottish tradition of proletarian female vocal performance in song; what is less clear is whether aristocratic female performance ever crosses the vocal barrier. These women represent conventional interlude mythical figures; Ceres and Fecundity, the goddesses of fertility and plenty, celebrate Anne's success in providing an heir, and Faith, Concord, Liberality and Perseverance embody virtues of statescraft. The duty of fertility which Anne owes to the state, is closely associated with the attributes of successful rule.

The description of Ceres is worth examining in some detail:

In the first front stood dame Ceres, with a sickle in her right hand, and a handfull of Corne in the other; and vpon the outmost part of her thigh was written this sentence, *Fundent uberes omnia campi*, which is to say, the plenteous Fields shall affoord all things.¹⁷¹

This pattern of writing on the body is repeated in the female figures of this tableau; these silent women are living emblems, abstract personifications identified by the objects which they hold.¹⁷² In the inscription of language upon the female body, that

body becomes both device and motto, the emblem's components of written word and pictorial device conflated in the body. The silent performing female body achieves a corporeal means of linguistic expression. Such a bodily linguistics stands in contrast to a similar approach to expression on the part of the noblemen of the tournament. The emblem formed by these knights is a tripartite entity of jousting, device and motto; though the nobleman himself is part of the pictorial device, he is distanced from the other aspects of the emblem, displayed on fans by his page. In the bodily expressivity of the silent woman, the juxtaposition of physical imagery and pictorial language is conflated into a more intense relationship in which the self-contained entity of the female body expresses the emblem's totality.¹⁷³

Such a relationship between female body and language also contrasts with the corporeal expressivity manifested in the performance of Jonson's Blackness. In Jonson's masque, the blackened figures of the performing queen and her ladies advance holding fans painted with the names of the characters which they 'personate' and the pictorial emblematic device of that mythical figure. The subversively open sexuality signalled in the masquers' bodies ironises a simplistic interpretation of the emblems which they hold.¹⁷⁴ At this point, however, my interest lies in the fact that these devices (both pictorial and linguistic) are indeed held, not inscribed upon the masquers' costumes or bodies. In the Stirling entertainment's encapsulation of device and motto, the bodies of the female performers actually *become* emblems, but the bodies of the performers of Blackness maintain an ironised distance from language, undermining the pictorial and linguistic representation of the feminine through their corporeality. In contrast with Jonson's staging of transgressive fertility in the

blackened body of the pregnant queen, the representational strategy used for the female performers in the banquet conforms to a naively available representation of the courtly ideals of feminine fertility. In the context of the christening, Ceres herself is an obviously idealised image of that aspect of Anne which fulfils the public duty of providing heirs for the nation: public praise of this achievement again reinforces the political motivation behind Anne's constant efforts to control Prince Henry. Blackness unpacks the intensely layered imagery of the Stirling entertainment, ironising its more simplistic use of the relationship between the ideal female body and corporeal linguistic expression which operates as a compensatory device for the enforced silence of the female masquer. In both instances, we find the female performance of language, but in Blackness its painted form exists at one remove from the performing gendered body. Language sits easier on the female body in an unironised context, the distanced juxtaposition which we find in Blackness is integral to an ironised representation. It is intensely significant that such feminine corporeal expressivity is not created solely for Anne's oppositional English performances, but that the later masque draws on an initially unironised and conformist motif from the queen's own earlier performative experience, twisting it to subvert audience expectations.

The representation of the feminine within this performance has so far been read as relatively easily available. Such a simplistic response can be problematised, however, through an examination of Anne's own ambiguous representation within the Stirling entertainment. The queen consort is witness to a vision of virtuous femininity to which the court dictates she should subscribe, but to which she herself exists in a complex relationship. This is perhaps best demonstrated in an examination of the use

of the motif of the romance quest in both the Stirling entertainment and Blackness. The relationship between these two entertainments is most obvious in the pageant car of the ship found in the Stirling entertainment, recalling James VI's Norwegian voyage. The account's reference to the king as 'a new Iason, to bring his Queene our gracious Lady, to this Kingdome' incorporates the narrative image of the journey and of the marriage quest into courtly entertainment through the fashioning of Anne as reward.¹⁷⁵

While the entertainment fetes the queen's fertility and the masculine quest which facilitates it, the aggrandisement of James to Jason reveals the uneasy convergence of the discourses of the quest and the feminine ideal upon the representation of Anne herself. The depiction of the husband defines the ambiguity of the wife. The most obvious source for the figure of Jason is Ovid's Metamorphoses, which describes Jason's triumphant public combat against the enchantments of Aeetes, and his return with the golden fleece,

Exultant in his spoil, and carrying with him as a further prize the one who had enabled him to win it, he sailed homewards in triumph and, with his wife Medea, came in time to Iolcos' harbour.¹⁷⁶

The Ovidian myth operates as a narrative archetype for many Renaissance court entertainments and their documentation. The quest of epic and romance is performed within the public tournament ceremonial; the test of Jason's power against the forces of a distant enchanted land underlies James VI's representation as the romantic questing hero.¹⁷⁷ But to write and perform James as Jason is to simultaneously inscribe Anne as both the golden fleece - the financial dowry which is the physical

prize of Jason's quest - and as the wife whom Jason brings home, both the process through which the dowry is attained and herself the result of that process. The 'narrative image' of woman as reward positions Anne within the narrative of James VI's journey, present here as it is in her tournament participation. The association with the golden fleece reifies the queen, empties her of subjectivity, and commodifies her as the tangible prize attained by the active questing male hero - Jason's wife is the medium through which his goals are achieved.

Jason's wife is also, of course, Medea, the prize which destroys the victor. Initially inspired by sexual desire to help Jason and betray her father and homeland, she is driven by sexual jealousy to murder the very heirs she is required to provide. Such is the trajectory of the narrative image of the queen; the betrayal of father and homeland through union with a foreigner, the journey to the husband's country and the transportation both of the multiple gifts of the dowry and the constant threat of the repetition of betrayal, of the Circean sin of changeability so intimately linked with the figure of the queen.¹⁷⁸ Medea is a pattern for the perception of the queen consort. Such an alignment is in part the result of the queen consort's liminal position in relation to the court's power structures - after all, queens who marry into sovereignty are necessarily the representatives of rival families or countries.¹⁷⁹ Medea (and Anne) are associated with a powerfully threatening alien knowledge and experience. Their status as reward means that the queen consort 'share[s] with the gift the quality of coming to an "inside" from an "outside" and of bearing something of the "outside" with [her]; she both regenerates the court into which she enters and threatens it with her difference'.¹⁸⁰ This threatening ambiguity, specifically the consort's shifting identity,

is the source of the crimes of which she is so often accused - witchcraft and adultery.¹⁸¹

It is Medea's witchcraft which most threatens Anne's idealisation; she is linked with the illicit experience of a woman of threatening alien subjectivity, knowledge and agency. Such an alignment also bonds Anne with the unfortunates accused of cursing her journey to Scotland. While accounts of the episode, including the 'witches' confessions, figure Anne as the precious gift or talisman which must not reach Scotland if evil is to prevail, her own association with Medea refigures her as a source of supernatural enchantment and forbidden knowledge. Accusations of witchcraft, and the discourses of difference and forbidden female knowledge which witchcraft encapsulates, are an aspect of the perception of the feminine in early modern European culture and a recurrent cultural phenomenon. This perception surfaces most prominently in Anne's English career in the representation of the demonised witches and the virtuous queens in Jonson's *Queens*, in which the polarisation of these figures simply disguises the intimate bond between queen and witch.¹⁸² Anne's representation as both the reified golden fleece and the threatening promise of Medea is the performative incorporation of the duality of her position as queen consort. The bringer of the dowry, the queen is the passive medium of many gifts, including the cultural model of absolutism, the perception of which as threat or promise depends on courtly allegiances.

Fowler's representation of Anne interrogates his allegiance to his queen. Whether such potential enmity was related to the extreme doctrinal differences

between the fervently Protestant former employee of the spy-master Walsingham and his soon to be Catholic mistress remains unestablished.¹⁸³ Regardless, Fowler has perhaps elided Anne from the description of the baptism, and in the very construction of the banquet interlude aligns her alternately with the passivity of the golden fleece and with the threat of Medea. Such a double representation demonstrates the ambiguity surrounding the perception of woman as gift, the commodification of the woman in dynastic marriage, and the position of the queen consort, the foreign woman as one which is always liminal, always fluctuating between states of trust and suspicion.¹⁸⁴

The quest motif finds another echo in the later masques of the English court. The maritime conceit is echoed in Blackness and Beauty, which, under the auspices of Anne's commission and performance in 1605 and 1608 respectively, reconfigure the Norwegian journey as that of the alien, blackened queen to the native shore. Fradenburg's comment that the trajectory of Blackness and Beauty is that of an epithalamion stresses the incorporation of the Norwegian journey into these two masques.¹⁸⁵ Blackness appropriates the conventional imagery of difference for the court performance of the women with whom they are associated. Though the masquing women are drawn to Britain's shores by the power of James I, with the female appropriation of the quest motif, James's own inscription as romance hero is relinquished in favour of that of spectator, granting greater agency to the female performers. James I has become the goal of the female quest.

The recurring presence of maritime imagery marks the constant tensions surrounding the notion of national and courtly community and its opposite of difference and otherness. These issues are closely centred upon the configuration of alien femininity within the performances of these distinct courts. Anne's dualistic representation as both golden fleece and Medea links the representation of alien femininity in Blackness through the symbol of the sea, the barrier between Scotland, England and other nations and the means through which danger can reach their shores. Anne's alien status is constantly reworked and re-presented through the entertainments of the various courts in which she spectates and performs, through the presence of motifs of sea voyages, blackness and female performance itself. Despite the greater agency that Anne and her co-performers achieve in Blackness, this masque (and the Stirling entertainment) before it reinscribes her alien status; she is positioned as other to the court. Furthermore, although the English performances are an assertive statement rather than elision of difference and an assertion of female community through its performance, the reworking of the romance quest motif of Anne's marriage and childbearing remain representations of her difference, ranking alongside those of blackness and femininity itself. The foreign woman (even a pale blonde one) embodies the threat of the other.

The recurrence of the motif of the romance quest and of images of blackness and femininity throughout the performances associated with Anne of Denmark stress her alien otherness in relation to both the Scottish and the English courts. The dualism of the role and the representation of the queen consort points to the gendering of these images, especially when contrasted with the imagery of the quest hero associated with

James VI. Anne is the bearer of gifts - money, the heir, cultural networks and the threatening promise of the absolutist cultural model. These constructs and associations are not merely present within the cultural production of the Scottish court, but impact upon and influence the cultural engagement and representation of Anne during her English career. The next important ceremony in which Anne is involved is the London coronation of the Stuarts as rulers of England, the celestial banquet which, like the terrestrial banquet of the baptismal celebrations, is the forum for the feminine performance of difference.

Conclusion. The London coronation: the performance of refusal.

1603 was a year of great change for both England and Scotland. The death of Elizabeth I and James VI's assumption of the English throne gave England a male monarch with a consort and family of heirs, security the likes of which the nation had not enjoyed since the time of Henry VIII. The move from Scotland to England is also the opportunity for Anne's most explicit expression of difference from her husband, and her independent stance as queen consort. A mature twenty seven year old woman, she is no longer the passive fourteen year old object of Scottish court entertainments. Her independence has already found expression in her involvement in factional Scottish court politics and in her battle for custody of Henry. These and other issues recur during the preparations for James's assumption of the English throne and Anne's entrance into England, a culture which, although generally more restrictive of female performance, is accustomed to female self-representation during the reign of Elizabeth I.

Anne's successful attempt to gain control over Prince Henry has been relatively well documented.¹⁸⁶ Arriving at Stirling Castle to take Henry south, Anne was denied by the dowager Countess of Mar. Accounts vary, but the consensus is that Anne, then pregnant, miscarried from the force of her distress. 'The Queen flew into a violent fury, and four months gone with child as she was, she beat her own belly, so that they say she is in manifest danger of miscarriage and death'.¹⁸⁷ The empowerment of the necessary threat of maternity is perhaps most strikingly figured in the body of the miscarried baby which Anne kept close to her on the southern

journey. Documenting the rumours which suggested that her miscarriage had been faked for political effect, Sully also records the power which resides in royal motherhood - the body of the dead baby is also the proof of the queen's power to take back the gift of the heir when her proximity to the existing heir is threatened.¹⁸⁸ Leeds Barroll documents the correspondence between Anne and James, her refusal to accept the Earl of Mar's custody of Henry, her rejection of Mar as an escort, and her eventual success in having Henry accompany her to London.¹⁸⁹

It is a mark of Anne's sense of her own status as queen consort that she demanded the presence of the heir as she travelled south to assume queenship of England. No such battles were waged over Princess Elizabeth, or over Prince Charles who, too weak to travel, was left behind in Scotland.¹⁹⁰ The focus of such exclusive attention upon Henry highlights Anne's motivation; her differentiation between her children is a marker of the vital contribution of the heir to her status. Anne's maternal instincts are firmly under the control of her political judgement. Throughout her life, Anne recognises that association with the heir (here Henry and later Charles) is vital in terms of political influence. Such a need will figure in the performance of Robert White's 1617 masque Cupid's Banishment, and even after Anne's death, the Venetian Ambassador remarks that her comfort lies in being the mother of the future monarch - the heir constantly defines the status of the queen consort.¹⁹¹

Anne's actions caused James great concern during the move south. He disapproved strongly of her choice of chamberlain, the favour she displayed towards Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford, and her rejection of the senior women

of Elizabeth I's bedchamber.¹⁹² These are the actions of a woman keen to cast off the trappings of the former monarch, to define herself through her own coterie and to enter her new kingdom prominently associated with the heir.

The issues involved in Anne's Scottish performances and the development of her performative and political engagement are encapsulated within her initial appearance within English state ritual - the London coronation. The coronation of James VI of Scotland as James I of England took place on 25 July 1603.¹⁹³ As the ritual assumption of the throne and the ceremonial creation of kingship, the coronation is a performative manifesto of the monarch's intentions. As the controversy surrounding Anne's anointing in 1590 demonstrates, the coronation is the simultaneous performance of the transcendent role of the immortal King and the individual monarch's more immediate agenda. Of defining importance to James VI, the London coronation is also a moment of performative self-representation for Anne, in which she moves into a mode of active self-representation within English court ritual.

It is in the London coronation that the first definite gesture of Anne's self-defining oppositional stance appears. Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary at the English court, describes the coronation:

The Archbishop then proceeded to crown the Queen, and placed the sceptre and staff in her hands, and then without further functions they conducted her to the throne. Up to this time she had been seated near the altar, without taking any part in the ceremony. Then the King approached the altar, and from the hands of the Archbishop he received the Lord's supper in bread and wine out of the chalice, which had been borne before him. The Queen did not receive the Sacrament, nor did she move from her throne.¹⁹⁴

The refusal of the Protestant sacrament resonates through the inception of the English Jacobean reign. It is a public statement of the queen's difference from official state religious policy, the ritual performance of her Catholicism, and the re-configuration of the images of alien femininity so embedded in her performance career into those of religious difference.¹⁹⁵ Admittedly, the coronation's straitened circumstances in a time of plague, and the enclosed nature of the ceremony itself, meant that the populace were not witness to this act of defiance. Yet as the subject of ambassadors' reports, this act is a royal performance of difference intended for an aristocratic and diplomatic audience.¹⁹⁶ Religious state ceremony is the arena for Anne's previously conformist performance as queen consort, now it is the stage for the first explicitly ritualised performance of her opposition. The London coronation is the first in a series of oppositional performances, which includes the controversial masques of the first decades of the seventeenth century.

Though it has undergone a period of critical scepticism, Anne's conversion to Catholicism has long been acknowledged by historians.¹⁹⁷ Ambassadors' accounts document the intense suspicion that she has converted or is swaying towards doing so.¹⁹⁸ In fact, her conversion seems to have taken place in the Scottish court, under the influence of the Catholic aristocratic faction. Anne's friendships with Henrietta, the Catholic Countess of Huntly, and Jean Drummond, sister-in-law of the Catholic Lord Seton, Anne's favourite lady-in-waiting and Prince Charles' first governess are also important.¹⁹⁹ Women's role in the survival of recusant Scottish Catholicism is a strong one, and the presence of a vigorous female Catholic community may well have aided Anne's conversion.²⁰⁰ Anne's own Jesuit priest, Fr. Robert Abercromby,

documents both her change of faith and James VI's awareness. Although such a high-level conversion is valuable Jesuit propaganda, the correspondence between Anne, Pope Clement VIII and Cardinal Borghese demonstrates James VI's knowledge of his wife's conversion and his willingness to exploit it as an approach to the European Catholic powers in his bid for the English throne.²⁰¹ Despite warnings and the return of illegal Papal gifts in 1603, Anne's expression of her Catholicism continues throughout her time in England, with evidence suggesting that she received communion at the house of Alonso de Velasco, the Spanish ambassador in England.²⁰²

The manipulation of Anne's religious difference, by both James VI and the Scottish Catholics, depends upon Anne's equivocal position as queen consort - close enough to the throne to cultivate Catholic interest, distanced enough to be a controllable threat. Fradenburg remarks that 'Queens are often associated with [...] the intimacies and intrigues of court life, with private negotiations'.²⁰³ The inverse of negotiation is conspiracy, the association of the consort with the threat of the other, embodied in religious difference. Religious categorisation of the individual in the early modern period, rather than being defined by attendance at Protestant ceremonies, is blurred and shifting, problematised by the need to display conformity; for example, James VI is content to allow Alexander Seton to remain as chancellor in Scotland, provided he swears the oath of allegiance - expedience is a priority for both Catholics and Protestants.²⁰⁴ Similarly, the Catholic ambassadors were content to attend the Stuart coronation, leaving Westminster Abbey during James's communion in order to avoid attendance at a 'heretic' service.²⁰⁵ Under more normal circumstances, Anne

herself conforms to this practice; two days before the coronation Scaramelli writes that Anne

is most obedient to her husband, and goes with him to the heretical services, but all the same she endeavours to place in office as many Catholic nobles as possible, and as the King is extremely attached to her she succeeds in all she attempts.²⁰⁶

In a culture which tolerates private difference for public conformity Anne's performance of rejection is resonant. Anne's Catholic connections and their potential for temporal negotiation are another aspect of her dowry; even a dissident queen consort is a medium for further rewards. The reification of the woman as gift is an ongoing part of this masculine quest for power, but it is one which also permits female dissidence. It is here that what Middaugh terms the 'opportunities and dangers' of queenship become evident.²⁰⁷

Anne's refusal of the Protestant sacrament is the performance of physical withholding and bodily stasis. While in the Edinburgh coronation service she raises her Bible to assent to the oath of allegiance, allows her body to be moved around the kirk and to be exposed in erotic subjugation to the will of the king, her autonomous immobility in the London service is a marker of rejection. Confined to silence, the female performer exploits the corporeal expressivity of stasis and kinesis, intimately related to the female approach to a corporeal linguistic expression in the court masque which will be the subject of the following chapters. Anne's deliberate choice of a self-imposed stasis rejects the manipulation of the female body to confirm the courtly power structures in ritual movement which I shall examine in greater detail in the next chapter. To choose reification is to subvert it through the exercise of the female will.

Anne opts to stand beyond the confines of the coronation ritual. Scaramelli's description of Anne and James's argument on the coronation morning demonstrates the strength of this gesture.

The King earnestly besought the Queen to take the Sacrament along with him, after the Protestant rite, on his Coronation Day, and that same morning the Archbishops also endeavoured to persuade her. They urged that if she did not, she would be living without any religion at all, for no other would be permitted in this kingdom. Her Majesty, after very quietly saying "No" once or twice, declined to make any further answer.²⁰⁸

James's manipulation of Anne's conversion balances the tacit assumption of her Catholicism from supportive foreign powers, and its plausible deniability to hard-line domestic factions. When she withholds participation in Protestant ritual, the only means of public resistance open to recusants, Anne threatens James's peaceful tenure of the throne; the marker of dissidence is non-participation - it is Protestantism or nothing.

Though Anne's adherence to the resolution enacted in the coronation fluctuates, her initial gesture is forceful. Her self-imposed stasis excludes her from the social hierarchy, and in the early modern period such a gesture of withholding has peculiarly feminine associations. It is precisely such a withdrawal which empowers the celibate woman (a feature of primarily Catholic female community) in her rejection of the desired direction of female sexuality towards marriage and childbearing.²⁰⁹ In much the same way, Anne's rejection of the sacrament is a rejection of the dominant courtly ideology; she places herself in a liminal position in relation to the power structures of the court. Such a refusal to confirm the patriarchal structure of court society (demanded from the female aristocrat) is also the same

gesture which characterises the refusal of Frances Howard and her sister to dance in Love Restored, the starting point for my analysis of the masquing dance in the next chapter. This refusal of the courtly demands of the movement of the female body highlights the real risk involved even in sanctioned female performance and also suggests why such performance is relatively rare. To demand female participation in state ritual is to grant the performative space for subversion of these rituals; the necessary performance of the female court elite itself interrogates that elite. The public refusal of performance is destabilising; Anne's withdrawal empowers her to threaten the monolithic ideology of the court through a strategy of abstention and self-imposed kinesis.

Anne's self-chosen corporeal stasis is the physical coreferent of the bodily gesture of conformity which she rejects - the consumption of the sacrament and the incorporation of the Word (the ideology of state and church) into the female body. Anne's rejection of the holy communion feast contrasts with her acceptance of the desserts of the profane banquet after her exclusion from her son's baptism. The ceremonial banquet which Anne rejects is the celestial feast, the transparent signifier of salvation and social acceptance. The banquet which she chooses to consume is a terrestrial one of less available significance which reaches towards meaning in its creation of the sugared worlds of desserts and sweetmeats (themselves a replication of communion) yet which as Fumerton suggests, was an essential expression of 'void' or nothingness.²¹⁰ Anne's rejection disavows a profoundly bodily acceptance of the dictates of the court. It also denies a moment of extreme intimacy, the privileged sight of the monarch's consumption. Elizabeth I dined alone or in small company; even

during moments of state such as the masque, James I dines only with the court elite in the privy apartments, retreating at the end of the banquet for Prince Henry's baptism to 'another Hal [...] where for the collation, a most rare, sumptuous, and Prince-like desart of Suger was prepared'.²¹¹ The glimpse offered by royal communion is rare, one which Fumerton suggests is bound up with the creation of the self and subjectivity.²¹² However, the monarch's regression into the increasing privacy of the dining room is also accompanied by James I's reinstatement of the tradition of dining in state in the Presence Chamber. There is, therefore, a double movement; privacy and interiority is displayed in the ceremonialisation of the dining experience as a tool for the mystification of the sovereign. Anne rejects such an insight into her bodily interiority; she stands outside the ritual, choosing instead a liminal position and disavowing the mystification of her identity.

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Tracing a line of development through Anne's performative involvement, a definite break appears between the English and Scottish performances. As her struggle for Prince Henry clearly demonstrates, Anne's passivity within Scottish ceremonial was not matched by a disavowal of political engagement; perhaps the move to the southern capital and the performances of homage she witnessed on the way were spurs to the realisation of the power of ceremonial.²¹³

7

Anne is intensely reified within her Scottish and Scandinavian performances; in the repetition of the image of woman as gift and reward, the conformist role of

queen consort is performed through rather than by that queen. In the same way, the new Queen Anne is predicated as the medium through which the deferred rewards of the dowry (financial, intellectual and cultural) and the heir to the throne are obtained. In order for this to take place, the structure of state ceremonials demands the physical presence of the bride or the queen consort, allowing only her silent presence and physical gestures of assent. The ideology of the monarch's two bodies, which looks to account for the physical corporeality of the individual queen (her mortality, sexuality, and corporeality) demands her presence and her assent through the gestural medium. Anne's London coronation sees her movement into an active performative self-fashioning and contrasts sharply with her reification within the Edinburgh ceremony of 1590. Distancing herself from her previous conformist performances, Anne's performance in the English coronation is akin to that of the monarch, simultaneously performing immortal transcendency while gesturing towards the agenda of the mortal individual and manipulating her necessary corporeality to destabilise state ritual in her bodily rejection of the Protestant sacrament. This is the rejection of the patriarchal Word of law in favour of a physically expressive feminine corporeal rejection of the movement which this patriarchal system imposes upon the female body.

English performance finds Anne rejecting the reifying strategies of representation which surround the queen consort, to fashion an image more suited to her conceptions of the status and nature of queenship. Her claim on the heir is a sign of this, and an attempt to retain control of a power-base independent from that of her husband. Yet Anne's assertion of her own authority threatens to undermine the foundations of James's own power, destabilising the comfortable elision of the wife

from the predication of Stuart authority ('I am the Husband, all the whole isle is my lawfull Wife') and undermining the relationship which James attempts to create between monarch and nation.

Blackness, femininity, religious and linguistic difference are powerful markers of social community and difference; intimate aspects of the representation of the queen consort, they cluster around Anne in her Scottish performances. Such differences are not easily assimilated into the new environment of the English court. A marginal northern nation, Scotland was distanced from London and Whitehall, the perceived centrepiece of civilisation in the British Isles, and constituted as the other to the English court. The presence of the Scottish entourage redefines the nature of this southern court: the misrepresentation of the Scots language to mock those who spoke it at the heart of the English power structure in London points to an imperialist agenda in the manipulation of language. James's accent and his use of a rhetoric sharply differing from that of the English court, are often the focus of negative comment.²¹⁴ A Danish princess who became queen of Scotland and then of England, Anne's difference is even more heightened and these markers of otherness continue to be an integral part of the performance tradition of her English coterie in masques such as Blackness, Beauty and Queens.

Anne's corporeal opposition within her London coronation resonates through the discourse of female performance in the English Jacobean court. As a physical gesture of non-conformity, it is closely related to the corporeal performance of opposition in Anne's later court masques. Shifting the emphasis from the

religious/state ceremonial of the coronation to the secular counterpart of the court masque, such corporeal refusal and the pressuring of the female constraint to silence by the act of performance itself, will form the focus of the next chapter of this thesis. The silenced physicality of the performing queen and noblewoman and the signifying choice of the refusal to perform will be analysed through a discussion of the specific dynamics of the performance of the gendered aristocratic body in the masquing dance.

Notes to chapter one.

1

King James's expedition to Norway in search of his Queen is, with the exception of the Gowrie Conspiracy, the most remarkable occurrence in his personal history. Naturally of a very timorous disposition, and by no means fond of adventurous exploits, this piece of gallantry must be regarded as not a little surprising.

J.T. Gibson Craig (ed.), Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland, with the Princess Anna of Denmark A.D. M.D. LXXXIX. And the Form and Manner of Her Majesty's Coronation at Holyrood House. A.D. M.D.XC. (Bannatyne Club, 26, 1828), p.vii. This event has been most recently and comprehensively analysed by David Stevenson with Peter Graves (trans.), Scotland's Last Royal Wedding (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1996); other contributions include A. H. Miller, 'The Wedding-Tour of James VI in Norway', Scottish Review, 21 (1893), 142-61; Williams, pp.11-36.

² The trials of those unfortunates accused of cursing the marriage journeys are documented in both Scotland and Denmark; Gibson Craig, pp.xiii-xv. See also Edward J. Cowan, 'The Darker Vision of the Scottish Renaissance: the Devil and Francis Stewart', in The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson, ed. by Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), pp.125-40.

³ The Kingis Majesteis Declaratioun upoun the Causis of His Depairtur, in Gibson Craig, pp.12-16, p.13. Stevenson briefly examines James's own disinterest in marriage, although he does not allow that James was influenced by what modern categorisations would define as a homosexual desire; Stevenson, pp.12-14. Such reticence also extends into Stevenson's reading of the relationship between James and his male courtiers; he interprets James's name for the Earl Marischal ('My little fat pork') as a term of impatience rather than of royal endearment; p.25. This rejects the dynamics of masculine courtly power and the complex web of markers of favour, often quasi-sexual physical or verbal signs of endearment, which were bestowed by James. See my reading of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue in chapter two, 'The social dances of the revels: the erotic politics of masque performance', 'Masculine erotics: dance as power-play'; see also Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', History Workshop, 29 (1990), 1-19; Homosexuality in Renaissance England (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982).

⁴ The Beginning of his Mties Jurnei to Denmarke; Neuer Ended, in James Craigie (ed.), The Poems of James VI of Scotland (Edinburgh and London: The Scottish Text Society, 1958), II, pp.144-49, p.144.

⁵ Stevenson, p.22. The date given in the Danish plan for the accomplishment of the civil ceremony is Tuesday 19 August; Stevenson, p.85. Widely varying descriptions of the ceremonies and of James's Norwegian voyage can be found in the Danish marriage account, Stevenson, pp.79-122; David Moysie, Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, ed. by J. Dennistoun (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830), pp.70-84; Gibson Craig; John Spottiswoode, The History of the Church of Scotland (Menston: Scolar Press, 1972), pp.375-81; T. Thomson (ed.), The Memoirs of Sir James Melville (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), pp.364-74.

⁶ 'In the Letters of James IV the number of letters to and from the king of Denmark slightly exceeds that number of those exchanged with the king of France'; Gordon Donaldson, 'Introduction', Scottish Historical Review, 48 (1969), 1-5 (p.4).

⁷ Stevenson, p.19; Henry W. Meikle, James Craigie and John Purves (eds.), The Works of William Fowler Secretary to Queen Anne, Wife of James VI (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1940), III, p.xxii.

⁸ Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century: The Historiography and Some Questions', S. H. R., 48 (1969), 80-97 (p.80). Thomas Riis, Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot ... : Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450-1707 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1988), 2 vols, deals with the cultural and economic links between Scotland and Denmark; S.G.E. Lythe, The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting 1550-1625 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1960), offers description and analysis of the economic and trading links between Scotland and the Baltic region; Thelma Jexlev provides a listing of available sources for researching the tangible links between Scotland and Denmark; 'Scottish History in the Light of Records in the Danish National Archives', S. H. R., 48 (1969), 98-106; James Dow, 'Scottish Trade with Sweden 1512-80', S. H. R., 48 (1969), 64-79; 'Scottish Trade with Sweden 1580-1622', S. H. R., 48 (1969), 124-50.

⁹ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland from the slauchter of King James the First to the ane thousande fyve hundreith thrie scoir fyftein zeir, ed. by Aeneas J.G. Mackay (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1899, 1911), p.242.

¹⁰ Mara Wade is one of very few scholars publishing on Danish court performance; her works include 'Festival Book as Historical Literature: The Reign of Christian IV of Denmark (1596-1648)', Seventeenth Century, 7 (1992), 1-14; 'Heinrich Schütz and "det Store Bilager" in Copenhagen (1634)', Schütz-Jahrbuch: Im Auftrage der Internationalen Heinrich-Schütz-Gesellschaft, 11 (1989), 32-52; Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus: German Court Culture and Denmark, The "Great Wedding" of 1634 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996). Another recent contribution to this field is the article of Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court: The Coronation of Christian IV', in Italian Renaissance Festivals and their European Influence, ed. by J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp.289-310.

¹¹ Anna Jean Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1927); Helena Mennie Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Fradenburg.

¹² R.D.S. Jack, 'Poetry under King James VI', in History of Scottish Literature: Volume I: Origins to 1660 (Medieval and Renaissance), ed. by R.D.S. Jack, gen. ed. Cairns Craig (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp.125-40; R.D.S. Jack (ed.), A Choice of Scottish Verse 1560-1660 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978); R.D.S. Jack, The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972); Craigie. Recent contributions to the analysis of the performative traditions of the Scottish court include Michael Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1556', S. H. R., LXIX (1990), 1-21; and Peter Davidson, 'The Entry of Mary Stewart into Edinburgh, 1561, and Other Ambiguities', Renaissance Studies, 9 (1995), 416-29. Evidence exists of a female poet, Christian Lindsay, in the court of James VI. A member of the Montgomerie court circle and referred to in James's own verses, her activities highlight issues of

female courtly education and cultural engagement within the Scottish court which need to be clarified; Shire, p.88.

¹³ Michael Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', pp.1-21. In 1599 kirk ministers tried to have a company of English actors banned from performing in Scotland, but were overruled by James VI; Riis, I, p.281; Claude Graf, 'Theatre and Politics: Lindsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis' in Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Renaissance, ed. by Adam J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid and Derrick S. Thomson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), pp.143-55; Sarah Carpenter, 'Early Scottish Drama', in History of Scottish Literature: Volume I, pp.199-212.

¹⁴ Fradenburg, p.79.

¹⁵ Mary Beth Rose, The Expense of Spirit: Love and Sexuality in English Renaissance Drama (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p.121; citing Alexander Niccholes, A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving (London, 1615), in Harleian Miscellany, ed. by William Oldys, II (1808-13), p.162.

¹⁶ Rose illustrates that certain traits of this discourse actually work to create an ideal of feminine heroics within marriage. Yet her analysis also clearly shows the textual elision of the female:

whether the Puritans stress the obstacles or the rewards inherent in marriage, the crucial point becomes their consensus that this relationship constitutes the arena in which the individual can struggle and meet death or defeat, triumph or salvation: ...undertaking this quest ... becomes 'this one and absolutely greatest action of a man's whole life'.

Rose, pp.124-5, p.121 (citing Niccholes, p.164). See Margaret Lael Mikesell, 'The Formative Power of Marriage in Stuart Tragedy', in In Another Country: Feminist Perspectives on Renaissance Drama, ed. by Dorothea Kehler and Susan Baker (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1991), pp.233-45.

¹⁷ Fradenburg, p.190, citing Teresa de Lauretis, 'Desire in Narrative', in Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984).

¹⁸ Stevenson, p.63. He goes on to characterise Anne's agency as equivalent to that of 'a symbolic dummy'.

¹⁹ Fradenburg, pp. 244-63.

²⁰ Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', p.87; he is supported by P.A. Munch, who first published the Danish account as 'Samtidig Beretning om Prindsesse Annas, Christian den 4des Systers, Giftermaal med Kong Jacob d. 6te af Skotland og hendes paafolgende Kroning', Norske Samlinger, I (1852), 451-512. Stevenson, p.x. A.H., Millar, 'Wedding-Tour' publishes an English summary.

²¹ At this point, the evidence shows that Anne spoke no Scots and would not have been able to read these poems, which Jack dates as prior to the 1590 marriage; Jack, A Choice of Scottish Verse, p.173, note 1.

²² The gross physicality of the image of his blood in a bed pan, the need for the beloved to suffer with him, and the misogyny of 'O Womans Witt that Wauers with the Winde' (assuming the imaginary stance of the rejected lover) reveal the disparity between James's performance (both literary and actual) and reality. Amatoria, I, stanza 2; Craigie, II, p.68, p.72. Such concepts also operate in Henry's wooing of Katherine in the final scene of Henry V. William Shakespeare, Henry V, V, ii, in William Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by Peter Alexander (London and Glasgow: Collins. 1991).

²³ Chancellor Maitland, widely held to be against the Danish match, was harangued in his chambers by the provost and burgesses of Edinburgh when Keith's ships, which had been preparing to sail to

Denmark, were dismissed on 27 May, added to which, Elizabeth I had already stated her support of the Danish match; Stevenson, p.15, p.4.

²⁴ Moysie, p.80.

²⁵ Moysie, p.80. Stevenson, p.35.

²⁶ Stevenson, p.35.

²⁷ Stevenson, p.63.

²⁸ Williams, p.2; Stevenson, p.7; Riis, I, pp.269-70.

²⁹ National Library of Scotland, MSS 35.4.2, Johnston, MS History of Scotland, p.598v; Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.180.

³⁰ Stevenson, p.20; Riis, p.269.

³¹ Riis, I, p.270. Riis also suggests that Anne may have known some Italian, the evidence being a letter written in Italian to the Danish diplomat Jonas Charisus (RA. TKUA England A I 2) and her Italian motto, 'La Mia Grandezza Dal Eccelso'; Riis, I, p.270.

³² The fashionable female occupation of recording ballads demonstrates that some sort of general provision was made for the Danish noblewoman's education beyond the court; Stewart Oakley, The Story of Denmark (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), p.108.

³³ Henrietta Stuart was the daughter of Esmé Stuart, the French Duke of Lennox and James VI's great favourite; she was raised and eventually died in the Valois court; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.195.

³⁴ Victor E. Thoren (with contributions by John R. Christianson), The Lord of Uraniborg: A Biography of Tycho Brahe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.2; Rosalind Marshall, Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980 (London: Collins, 1983), p.21.

³⁵ Stevenson, p.118. Leeds Barroll has begun the investigation into the Danish conception of femininity to an extent. Earlier texts, such as that by Ethel Carleton Williams are uninformative and factually inaccurate. Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.193.

³⁶ Sophia supported Tycho Brahe, who was the son of her Mistress of the Wardrobe, an indication of the power of female courtly networks. It was also Sophia who, at Brahe's instigation, patronised Vedel's collection and publication of Danish ballads'; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.193; Oakley, p.108. Thoren points out that Brahe fared better from the regency government than he did under the rule of Frederick II; Thoren, pp.353-4.

³⁷ Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.193. J.A. Gade states that Sophia had no support for her regency from Frederick II before his death. He does, however, offer the unsubstantiated assertion that Sophia was appointed independent regent of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein by the Holy Roman Emperor, as they were members of the Empire, but this he attributes to the influence of Sophia's father, Duke Ulrich of Mecklenburg; J.A. Gade, Christian IV: King of Denmark and Norway (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927), p.31, p.34. See chapter four, '4 May 1617: the performance of politics', for discussion of Anne's bid for the English regency.

³⁸ Thoren, p.1. In 1375 Margaret, daughter of King Valdemar successfully held the regency, another Margaret, who held the regency from 1259 during the minority of her son Erik, was not so successful; Oakley, pp. 70, p.78.

³⁹ 'Letter from Queen Sophia, Queen Dowager of Denmark, to King James VI. 26 Nov. 1589', in Gibson Craig, p.19. Many thanks to Peter Davidson for his translations from the Latin.

⁴⁰ Stevenson, p.79.

⁴¹ Report by the Earl Marishall of his Proceedings in Denmark. At Upslo, the xxv Day of November, the Yeir of God Im Ve lxxxix, in Gibson Craig, Appendix I, pp.7-9.

⁴² Stevenson, p.89.

⁴³ Fradenburg, p.xiv.

⁴⁴ Riis documents the negotiated settlement as 100,000 florins for the dowry, 200,000 florins for the dower; I, p.270.

⁴⁵ No land was exchanged between the Scots and Danes, although the sovereignty of the Orkney Islands was a disputed issue at the time. A Danish embassy was sent to Edinburgh to treat for the redemption of the Orkneys in 1584, but this was a pretext for the initiation of marriage negotiations; A.H. Miller, 'Wedding-Tour', pp.152-3. Despite a system of enforced loans and the payment of interest, the tocher was spent by 1594; A. Montgomerie, 'King James VI's Tocher Gude and a Local Authority Loan of 1590', *S. H. R.*, 37 (1958), 11-16.

⁴⁶ National Library of Scotland, Denmilne papers, XXVIII, 33.1.11, no.8: 12 July 1595. Riis, I, p.137, p.269; II, p.55, p.61. Between 1596-9 Anne recommended Henry Burel as Christian's messenger and requests his protection for Thomas Bulk, a gentleman who had committed manslaughter. The Danish account describes the intercession for Cunningham as instigated by the 'chief ladies-in-waiting' and he is later recorded as a member of Anne's household; Stevenson, p.37, p.94.

⁴⁷ 'It is the noble wrath of the lion to be merciful to the submissive, and to crush in war those who are arrogant'; translated from the Latin by Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court', p.295, note 12. Stevenson, p.51.

⁴⁸ In the years before the 1589 marriage negotiations, however, trade in grain, fish and timber were at a low ebb; Lythe, p.19, p.147, p.156; Riis, I, p.121. Beyond trade and Scots emigration into Denmark, Scoto-Danish contacts previous to the Stuart marriage are manifested in the Scottish courtly education of Danish aristocrats, in the transmission of the Reformed religion and in the intellectual interchange between figures such as George Buchanan, Peter Young and Tycho Brahe; Riis, I, pp.114-6, p.121-2, p.259. Thoren, p.117; Peter Zeeburg, 'The Inscriptions at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg', in *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. by Minna Skafte Jensen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1995), pp.251-66, p.261.

⁴⁹ The high point of actual contacts between Danish and Scottish intellectuals coincides with the years of the Danish regency; Riis, I, p.121, p.125. Riis deals with the intellectual contacts forged by the embassies and the Danish visit; I, chp. 4.

⁵⁰ Riis, I, p.122. Records exist of James's gifts to the University; Stevenson, p.48-9, p.99.

⁵¹ This description is in a letter to Peter Young in 1592, asking for James VI's patronage; Peter Zeeburg, 'The Inscriptions at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg', p.264; Riis, I, p.126; translated by the author.

⁵² A notebook compiled by Brahe's assistants records seven Latin political epigrams written by Maitland during the visit, one of which translates James VI's English epigram on the Spanish armada. Maitland's epigrams on Uraniborg and Brahe himself, dated 20 March 1590, are recorded in a separate manuscript; Peter Zeeburg, 'The Inscriptions at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg', p.264.

- ⁵³ Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', pp.83-4. Brahe's letter asks for a poem by James VI; Riis, I, p.126.
- ⁵⁴ Gordon Donaldson, 'Introduction', p.4; Riis, I, p.130.
- ⁵⁵ Thoren describes the *rigsraåd*, though nominally intended to be an advisory body for the monarch, as an institution devoted to defending the interests of the most powerful Danish families; Thoren, p.1. Stevenson, pp.45 ff.
- ⁵⁶ Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court', p.294.
- ⁵⁷ Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court', p.294.
- ⁵⁸ Frede P. Jensen publishes the Latin version of Peder Vinstrup's coronation speech; 'Peder Vinstrup's Tale ved Christian 4.s kroning: Et Teokratisk Indlaeg', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 12 (1966-71), 375-94 (p.386). Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court', p.294.
- ⁵⁹ Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court', p.295.
- ⁶⁰ The twenty Councillors physically placed the crown upon Christian's head, the remainder of the nobility were asked to stretch their arms to touch the crown; Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court', p.296.
- ⁶¹ Stevenson points out that the Scottish aristocracy misread the position of the Danish nobility and feared the influence of what seemed to be an all-powerful monarchy upon James VI; Stevenson, pp.46-47.
- ⁶² Pitscottie notes the presence of Danish ambassadors in the 1507 performance of the Tournament of the Black Lady; Pitscottie, p.242. Christensen notes that Christian III was invited to Scotland to the wedding of Mary Stuart in 1588; Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', p.87.
- ⁶³ Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', p.97, citing Lauritz Nielsen 'Aeldre danks Litterature I engelske Biblioteker', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok-och bibliotekväsen*, 15 (1928), 210-16.
- ⁶⁴ Stevenson, pp.85-6.
- ⁶⁵ Jonson *Hymenaei*, in Orgel, *Complete Masques*, pp.75-106, p.90, 392-8. David Lindley; *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p.21.
- ⁶⁶
- The increasingly elaborate concluding scenes of Jacobean and Caroline court masques, in which Jones's scenery transformed the courtiers into images of transcendent truths, formed a secular counterpart to the cult of religious images.
- David Norbrook, 'The Reformation of the Masque', in Lindley, *The Court Masque*, pp.94-110, p.97.
- ⁶⁷ Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction 1300-1840* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p.315.
- ⁶⁸ Sidney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p.106.
- ⁶⁹ Stevenson, p.17.

⁷⁰ Ernst Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp.207-32; Marie Axton uses this as the basis for the analysis of the two bodies of Elizabeth I; Marie Axton, The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

⁷¹ 'Ordering of the Chapel for the Baptism', c. 10 April 1594, Calendar of Scottish Papers, II, 1593-5, pp.411-13, p.411.

⁷² Referring to Shakespeare's Richard II, Stephen Orgel writes that
 Theatrical pageantry, the miming of greatness, is highly charged because it employs precisely the same methods the crown was using to assert and validate its authority. To mime the monarch was a potentially revolutionary act - as both Essex and Elizabeth were well aware.

Stephen Orgel, 'Making Greatness Familiar' Genre, 15 (1982), 41-48 (p.45). He goes onto say that 'to mime nobility on the stage is to diminish it'; p.47.

⁷³ James VI's expression of the concept reads as follows; 'a King is as one set on a skaffold, whose smallest actions and gestures al the people gazingly do behold'; James VI and I, Basilikon Doron (Menston: Scolar Press, 1969), p.121. Jonathan Goldberg, James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne and their Contemporaries (London and Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1983), p.263, note 1.

⁷⁴ Steven Mullaney discusses the importance of the spectators' gaze to the performance of royal authority; The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1995), p.97.

⁷⁵ Stevenson characterises Maitland as a representative of an 'upstart' order, Keith as the old order of nobility; Stevenson, pp.14-5, p.55.

⁷⁶ 'The position of Thirlestane and the others who had been appointed ambassadors to Denmark when they and the king sailed from Scotland is not clear. It may be that when Keith's commission was declared void, Thirlestane and his colleagues took over as ambassadors'; Stevenson, p.55, p.132, note 37.

⁷⁷ Stevenson, p.55.

⁷⁸ For instance, there is no mention made of the proxy performance as a claim to power in Keith's report; Report by the Earl Marishall, in Gibson Craig, Appendix I, pp.7-9.

⁷⁹ This most famous statement of James's gendered theory of absolute rule is found in his 1603 speech to Parliament; cited in Hardin, p.280. Referring specifically to the union of England and Scotland, James states that 'Union is a marriage' and that the two nations must 'shake hands, and as it were kisse the other, and be under one roofe or rather in one bedde together'; cited in Michael J. Enright, 'King James and his Island: an Archaic Kingship Belief?', S. H. R., 55 (1976), 29-40 (p.39). Lindley points out Hymenaei's simultaneous representation of the union of the Howard/Essex marriage and of England and Scotland; Lindley, Trials, p.20.

⁸⁰ Norbrook, 'The Reformation of the Masque', p.97.

⁸¹ Stevenson, p.36, p.92; A.H. Miller, 'Wedding-Tour', pp.157-8. Williams does not offer any supporting evidence; Williams, p.23. I have not found any evidence to support her claims. Stevenson does not mention such a ceremony, instead citing 21 January 1590 as the date of the royal couple's arrival at Elsinore. Yet his explanation for the lacunae in the Danish account (that events at which Christian IV was present were not described) may well account for such an omission; Stevenson, p.45, p.99.

⁸² Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), Abridged edition, pp.30-1; Macfarlane, p.315; Stevenson, p.22.

⁸³ Stevenson, pp.99-100.

⁸⁴ Stevenson, p.103, p.107.

⁸⁵ Mary Margaret Bartley, 'A Preliminary Study of the Scottish Royal Entries of Mary Stuart, James VI and Anne of Denmark, 1558-1603' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1981); Mill, p.12; Stevenson, pp.57-61.

⁸⁶ Moysie, pp.83-4; Spottiswoode, pp.380-1; Thomson, Memoirs of Sir James Melville, p.373; Johnston, pp.597v-598v; The Receiving of James the Sixt and his Queene at Lyeth in Scotland, the first of May last past; together with the Coronation of the Scottish Queen, and The Forme and Manner of the Coronatione of Anna, the Quenis Majestie of Scotland, efter hir arryving within this countrie 1590 from Denmark, in Gibson Craig, pp.37-42, pp.47-56; Stevenson, pp.103-20.

⁸⁷ Stevenson, p.58.

⁸⁸ Fradenburg, p.312, note 39; p.84.

⁸⁹ Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.134; Scaramelli, C. S. P., Venetian, 1603-7, X, p.75; The Ceremonies, Form of Prayer, and Services used in Westminster Abbey at the Coronation of King James the first and Queen Ann his Consort. Performed by Dr. Whitgift, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, &c. With the Coronation of King Charles the First in Scotland (London: Randal Taylor, 1685), p.12. Previously the ring had been placed on the fourth finger of the right hand, as stipulated in the orders for the coronation of Richard III in 1483; Tessa Rose, The Coronation Ceremony of the Kings and Queens of England and the Crown Jewels (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1992), pp.105-6.

⁹⁰ Fradenburg sees the marriage metaphor as integral to that of sovereignty, and it relates closely to the specific conceptualisation of sovereign power under James VI; Fradenburg, pp.84-7.

⁹¹ Lewalski, p.43. These concepts are explicitly formulated in 1598 when James VI composed Basilikon Doron for Prince Henry. James's own statements after his assumption of the English throne also make these constructions explicit; with reference to his desire for the union of Scotland and England, James declares that 'No more possible is it for one king to governe two Countreys Contiguous [...] than for one head to governe two bodies, or one man to be husband to two wives', a statement which perhaps demonstrates the extent to which Anne's existence is both necessary and destabilising to James's theorisations of power; Michael J. Enright, 'King James and his Island', p.29.

⁹² The Coronatione, in Gibson Craig, p.52. A common aspect of religious state ritual, this theatricalised significance recurs in the 1603 Stuart coronation when part of Westminster Abbey is referred to as a 'stage'; Coronation of King James the first and Queen Ann, p.4.

⁹³ The Coronatione, in Gibson Craig, p.53.

⁹⁴ The number upon whom honours were bestowed differs dramatically between the Scots and the Danish accounts - the first numbers 15, the second 50. James knights Chancellor Maitland as a sign of favour after the controversial Danish mission; Stevenson, p.103. In contrast, the Earl Marischal is far from prominent in the ceremony - many accounts do not even mention his presence, although they record that of his deputy; Receiving, in Gibson Craig, pp.38-9; The Coronatione, in Gibson Craig, p.51; Johnston, p.597v. In addition, James is careful to grant the English ordinary envoy, Sir Robert Bowes a prominent position; Stevenson, p.104.

⁹⁵ Stevenson, p.59; Cooper, p.6 note 1, p.17; Spottiswoode, pp.380-1; Cooper, p.19; The Coronatione, in Gibson Craig, pp.52-3.

⁹⁶ Stevenson, p.105; The Coronatione, in Gibson Craig, p.53; Stevenson, p.143, note 42.

⁹⁷ Cooper, p.21.

⁹⁸ Cooper, p.29.

⁹⁹ Queens, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.125, 87.

¹⁰⁰ Gibson Craig, p.52, p.55.

¹⁰¹ Stevenson, p.105; Gibson Craig, p.54.

¹⁰² Stevenson suggests that this is either the result of Danish censorship or Scottish interpolation; although neither can be proven, each is an attempt to pretend to religious conformity. Stevenson, p.105, p. 59; Gibson Craig, p.54; Christensen, p.96.

¹⁰³

I, ANNA, be the grace of God, Quiene of Scotland, professe, and befoir God and his angells haillelie promese, that during the haill course of my lyffe, so fare as I can, sall sincerlie worshipe that same eternall God, according to his will reveillit unto ws in his haillie scriptours, and according to thois preceptis quhilks ar in the same scriptours commandit and drectit: That I sall defend the true religioun and worshipe of God, and advance the samyn, and sall withstand and dispys all papisticall superstitiones, and quhatsumever ceremonies and rites contrair to the word of God: And that I sall funder and advance justice and equetie, and mantiene the samyn, and sall procure peace to the kirke of God within this kingdome, and to the subjectis therof: Swa God, the father of all mercies, have mercy upoun me.

The Coronatione, in Gibson Craig, p.54; anglicised by Stevenson, p.105.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.167.

¹⁰⁵ Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', pp.66-80, pp.107-27, pp.167-81.

¹⁰⁶ Stevenson, p.108.

¹⁰⁷ Stevenson, p.111.

¹⁰⁸ Stevenson, pp.109-10, pp.111-14.

¹⁰⁹ Stevenson, p.110.

¹¹⁰ Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', pp.107-8.

¹¹¹ Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, II, p.55; cited in Mill, p.317, and note 6. Mill adds a list of ten further instances of female performance before the king, six of which involve song and four dance. A typical entry is that of 'the madinnis that sang to the King at Spinie'; Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, III, p. 170; cited by Mill, p. 317, note 6. However, these instances are not dated.

¹¹² While there are numerous mentions of female characters in English progress entertainments, evidence has not been found to suggest the sex of these performers. The majority of scholarly investigations do not prioritise this issue; for example, the description of the 'beautiful Lady, representing Desire' in The Four Foster Children of Desire (1581), published and analysed by Jean

Wilson takes no interest in the performer's sex; Entertainments for Elizabeth I (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), p.82.

¹¹³ Mill, p.39, and Appendix III, Lord High Treasurer's Accounts.

¹¹⁴ Fradenburg, pp.95-7. Michael Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', p.2.

¹¹⁵ Fradenburg, p. 172.

¹¹⁶ Clare McManus, 'The Figure of Circe and Female Representation in the French *ballet de cour* (1581-1617)', (unpublished MA paper, University of Warwick, 1994). Queen Mary's masquing performances were a part of the criticisms levelled against her by John Knox; Mill, p.47.

¹¹⁷ A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents That Have Passed in the Country of Scotland Since the Death of King James the Fourth in the Year MDLXX (Bannatyne Club, 1883), p.87 cited in Mill, p.48 and p.337, note 3. For references to the Queen of the Bean celebrations, see C.E. McGee (ed.), 'Cupid's Banishment: A Masque Presented to Her Majesty by Young Gentlewomen of the Ladies Hall, Deptford, May 4, 1617', Renaissance Drama, n.s. 19 (1988), 226-64, and chapter four, 'Carnival and the female voice'. In 1565-6 Mary performed in a masque with Darnley and Riccio, although details and the nature of the performance are not clear and Mills's use of the term 'masque' is shifting and undefined; Mill, p.48. And a letter dated 24 October 1564 from Randolph to Cecil states that 'That night she [Mary] danced long and in a maske playinge at dyce, loste unto my lord of Lenox a prettie juell of crystall well sette in golde'; Mill, p.51.

¹¹⁸ The evidence seems to point to a non-vocal elite female performance predicated along similar lines as English masque performance, yet this area remains one which has been long neglected and in need of greater research. For example, there is no suggestion of a sung female performance in Fowler's entertainment for the baptism of Prince Henry; William Fowler, A True Reportarie of the Baptisme of the Prince of Scotland, in The Works of William Fowler, Secretary to Queen Anne, Wife of James VI, ed. by Henry W. Meikle (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Text Society, 1936), II, pp.165-95. This edition publishes both the Warrender Manuscript account and Waldegrave's printed text.

¹¹⁹ Johnston, p.598r.

¹²⁰ Stevenson, pp.110-1. This is perhaps preceded by a similar performance in Mary Stuart's 1561 entry. Four women 'cled in the maist hevenlie clething', implying that they were perhaps females rather than boy actors, are stationed at the Mercat Cross; Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.74. An account of James VI's entry in 1579 includes the unexplained remark that 'Dame Music and hir scollars exercesit hir art with great melodie'; Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.109.

¹²¹ Stevenson, p.145, note 20, citing Calderwood, V, p.97. The only doubt surrounds the pageant of Sheba and Solomon and this is simply because the speakers are not specified as male or female - the remainder of the speakers are consistently male; Stevenson, pp.118-9.

¹²² The child who descended in the globe at the West Port is described by the Danish account as being about eight years old and the son of the Edinburgh advocate John Russel, who was commissioned to write a Latin oration for Anne's welcome; Stevenson; p.108. There is dispute over whether Russel or his son actually performed this speech; Stevenson, p. 144, note 6.

¹²³ Receiving, in Gibson Craig, p.40; Stevenson, p.145, note 19.

¹²⁴ Stevenson, p.120. Accounts for the costuming of the dancers do not contain any references that can be unequivocally associated with female dancers; Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.138.

¹²⁵ Johnston, p.598r. Mill, p.203.

¹²⁶ Stevenson, pp.114-14; Calderwood, p.97; Stevenson, p.146, note 22.

¹²⁷ Stevenson, p.114.

¹²⁸ Stevenson, p.110, p.115.

¹²⁹ Stevenson notes that the published Scottish account lists sixty, Moysie counts forty-two, Calderwood and Johnston twenty-four, and the Danish account fifty; Stevenson, pp.144-5, note 10, citing Calderwood; The receiving, in Gibson Craig, pp.37-42, p.40; Moysie, p.83; Johnston, p.598v.

¹³⁰ Stevenson, pp.144-5, note 10; Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.137, citing Sir James David Warwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1573-1589 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1875).

¹³¹ Although the 'Moir' is never identified, the lack of any mention of sex means that we can assume that the reference is to a male, possibly the male performer of the entry. The same 'Moir' is later recorded as serving at one of the tables of Anne's household; 'The Estate of the King and Quenis Majesties Houshald Reformit', Gibson Craig, Appendix III, p.28, p.36.

¹³² Williams, p.21.

¹³³ Hall, p.128.

¹³⁴ Stevenson, p.128, note 12. The anecdote seems to have been first reported by Gade, who offers no source reference but makes the unsubstantiated assertion that James did indeed bring these performers with him from Scotland; Gade, pp.39-40.

¹³⁵ Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.35. Mill, p.85; neither can provide evidence of 'actual' black performance.

¹³⁶ Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.66.

¹³⁷ See note 52. These accounts do not signal whether the masks were designed to cover the whole face or merely half, and therefore do not hint at the nature of the use of make-up within the entry.

¹³⁸ Moysie, p.84, cited Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.155 and Gibson Craig, p.50.

¹³⁹ Fradenburg, p.293.

Into the seruice of our Queene,
Thay offert thair maist willing myndes,
Thir are the Moirs of quhom I mene,
Quha dois inhabit in the ynde:
Leving thair land and dwelling place,
For to do honour to hir Grace.

John Burel, The Discription of the Qveenies Maiesties Maist Honorabke Entry into the Tovn of Edinbuvrgh, vpon the 19 Day of Maii, 1590, in Papers Relative, pp.i-vii, p.v. This poem is also published in a pamphlet To the Richt High, Lodowick Duke of Lenox, Earl Darnlie, Lord Tarbolton, Methuen and Aubigné, &c. gret Chamberlaine of Scotland, Iohn Byrel, wisheth lang life, with happy succes in all your attempts, and efter daith, the ioyes euerlasting (Edinburgh: R. Waldegrave, 1595). At one point, Bartley refers to the author of this poem as Robert Burel, but she later corrects this to refer to him as John Burel; Mary Margaret Bartley, 'The Scottish Royal Entries', p.131, p.151. Cf. the

'moors' who appeared as Ethiopian knights at Mary Queen of Scots' wedding in 1565; Peter Davidson, Dominic Montserrat and Jane Stevenson, 'Three Entertainments for the Wedding of Mary Queen of Scots Written by George Buchanan: Latin Text and Translation', *Scotlands*, (1995), 1-10 (p.8).

¹⁴¹ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.184. This account is also found in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London: John Nicols and Son, 1823; New York: AMS Reprint, 1963), III, pp.353-69.

¹⁴² Anne's successful assertion of her rights, though resulting in a lengthy estrangement from Maitland, safeguarded the Queen's independent income and stands as a statement of her precedence as queen; Riis, pp.273-6.

¹⁴³ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.169.

¹⁴⁴ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.180.

¹⁴⁵ None of the variant texts notes her presence or absence from the baptism (although the chapel ceremony is not described in the Warrender version). In addition, a plan for the ceremony does not mention Anne's presence but gives precedence to the child's nurse and to the Countess of Mar, and the Queen goes likewise unmentioned in the reports of the English ambassadors, Robert Bowes and the Earl of Sussex, back to England. The plan, entitled 'Ordering of the Chapel for the Baptism', is dated around 10 August 1594 and is reprinted from a Scots original, Harleian MS 4637, C. fol. 140. Confirming that the banquet was held on the evening of the baptism, the plan then (and only then) refers to 'their Majesties'; *C. S. P. Domestic*, II, 1593-5, pp 411-13; Robert Bowes to Burghley, 31 August 1594, *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, II, 1593-5, pp.422-3; the Earl of Sussex to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 August 1594, *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, II, 1593-5, p.423.

¹⁴⁶ Orazio Busino, in his description of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* in 1618, Orgel and Strong, I, p.282.

¹⁴⁷ Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (London: Collins, 1976), p.213; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), abridged edition, p.388.

¹⁴⁸ Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1981), pp.3-5. Charles was born 19 November 1600 and the christening took place on 23 December 1600. On this occasion it is known that Anne remained in Dunfermline, which Gregg suggests is due to her estrangement from James VI over the Gowrie Plot. The bodies of the Ruthven brothers were hung, drawn and quartered the day before Charles' birth. Although it is known that Princess Elizabeth's christening (28 November, 1596, in Holyrood) was far less lavish than that of Prince Henry, it is not clear as to whether Anne was present or not. Elizabeth I was the girl's godmother. What is clear is that Anne had a say in the attendance of the baptism, since the Countess of Huntly was invited despite her Catholicism; Mary Anne Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (London: Methuen, 1909), revised by S.C. Lomas, p.2.

¹⁴⁹ Stevenson, p.104.

¹⁵⁰ This decision was taken by James and the Scottish Privy Council two days after Henry's birth; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.196.

¹⁵¹ 1595 finds her demanding both guardianship of Henry and Mar's castle at Stirling; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.196.

¹⁵² Lewalski, cited from a report of their quarrel sent to England on May 25, 1595, printed in Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, VII, pp.363-4. Danish evidence casts further light on the game of faction being played out here. A letter written in August 1594 to Christian Barnekow, the

Danish envoy in Scotland describes Anne's manoeuvrings as free from malice, but states that she is prevented by her youth from foreseeing the dangers of her actions, implying that she may be the unknowing tool of faction. The letter was written by Hadrianus d'Amman a Bisterfelt and is cited in Riis, I, p.278; Universitetsbiblioteket I Lund: Christian Barnekows Arkiv = Royal Library Copenhagen MS. Micro 1012: 25/8/1594.

¹⁵³ The heir's singular importance is signalled in Anne's acceptance of her other children's guardians; Princess Elizabeth was raised by Lord and Lady Livingstone (Protestant and Catholic respectively) and Prince Charles by Alexander Seton, the future Chancellor of Scotland (a church papist who reconciled state office with Catholicism); Gregg, p.7.

¹⁵⁴ Discussing Natalie Zemon Davis's 'Women on Top', Adrian Wilson points out that the ceremonies surrounding childbirth and churching serve the interests of the women involved. In contrast, that of the baptism is constructed to serve the patriarchal state power and to exclude the queen consort from engagement with those structures of power; Adrian Wilson, 'The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation', in Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England, ed. by Valerie Fildes (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp.68-107.

¹⁵⁵ Riis believes that although Mar's guardianship was not revoked by James VI, Henry was 'given up to his mother as long as she suckled him'. Riis, p.278.

¹⁵⁶ Thanks goes to Hilary Marland for her advice. A great deal of research remains to be carried out on this area. Issues which need to be addressed include the presence of aristocratic and royal mothers at baptisms, the role of the nurse (both the wet nurse and the mother's own attendant), the identity of Henry's godparents, and the actual motivation behind Anne's exclusion from this ceremony. Riis, p.279, note 60.

¹⁵⁷ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.188.

¹⁵⁸ Nichols, Queen Elizabeth, III, p.365.

¹⁵⁹ Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain (London: Pluto Press, 1984), p.4; Fradenburg examines blackness in courtly entertainments, p.72 ; Hall.

¹⁶⁰ Fryer, p. 2, p.459, note 3.

¹⁶¹ William Dunbar, Ane Black Moir, in The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. by James Kinsley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p.106, 5. The tournament is chronicled in Pitscottie, pp.242-4; Fryer, p.3; Fradenburg, pp.67-9, pp.244-63. She categorises Dunbar's poem as a 'parodic blazon' on p.210. No record exists of this woman's identity.

¹⁶² Fradenburg analyses the fear of effeminacy that is confronted (although not necessarily countered) in the mode of chivalric jousting and of the fashioning of the male aristocrat as knight; Fradenburg, pp.215-6. Pitscottie and Fryer refer to James IV's role as that of the Black Knight, Fradenburg names him the Wild Knight, which is consistent with the name used by the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, Mill, p.326; Fradenburg, pp.67-9.

¹⁶³ Dunbar, in Kinsley, p.106, 23; p.309.

¹⁶⁴ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.174.

¹⁶⁵ Mill, p.53, citing Randolphe to Cecil, 7 December 1561, in Joseph Bain (ed.), Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, (Edinburgh: His Majesty's General Register House, 1898), I, p.576.

¹⁶⁶ Olav Lausund, 'Splendour at the Danish Court', pp.289-310.

¹⁶⁷ A further difference between Scottish and English masquing practice is the fact that the fullest description of an English tournament occasion, provided by Lupold von Wedel in 1584, suggests that the English knights, unlike the Scots or Danes, do not take a disguise upon their own bodies, instead the burden of this representation is carried by the pages and by the apparatus of the joust; Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), p.134.

¹⁶⁸ Pitscottie; 'thair come ane clwdd out of the rvffe of the hall as appeirit to men and opnit and cleikkit vp the blak lady in presence of thame all that scho was no moir seine'; Pitscottie, p.244.

¹⁶⁹ 'The tournament [...] brings men together but allows them to constitute themselves as "men", who fight for and are watched by women [...] The "lady" [...] enters the tournament - as spectator, as prize - in part to signify the masculinity of the knight, to defend against the feminizing effects of the identification and rivalry with the similar and against the lure of wildness itself'; Fradenburg, p.212.

¹⁷⁰ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.188.

¹⁷¹ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.188.

¹⁷² Though the clear description of Ceres and Fecunditie is not used for all the female performers, a pattern of writing on the body is clearly established in the descriptions of these first two performers; Fowler, in Meikle, II, pp.188-90.

¹⁷³ It is important to note the composite nature of the Renaissance emblem; it did not consist merely of the pictorial device, but also of a motto and a section of verse. For a definition/analysis of the early modern emblem form, see Michael Bath, Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture (London: Longman, 1994).

¹⁷⁴ Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.18-24.

¹⁷⁵ Fowler, in Meikle, II, p.193.

¹⁷⁶ Mary M. Innes (trans.), The Metamorphoses of Ovid (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), Book VII, p.172.

¹⁷⁷ Innes, p.171.

¹⁷⁸ Fradenburg, pp.75-9.

¹⁷⁹ Fradenburg, p.79.

¹⁸⁰ Fradenburg, p.76.

¹⁸¹ Fradenburg, p.79.

¹⁸² See chapter three; Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonons's Queens', in Seeking the Woman in Late Medieval and Renaissance Writings, ed. by Sheila Fisher and Janet E. Halley (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), pp.233-64.

¹⁸³ For details of Fowler's life, his dealings with Walsingham and his sometimes strained relationship with Anne, see Meikle, Craigie and Purves, III, pp.ix-xlii.

¹⁸⁴ Fradenburg, p.78.

¹⁸⁵ Fradenburg, p.76.

¹⁸⁶ Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', pp.196-9; Williams, pp. 70-73; Strong, Henry, Prince of Wales, pp.9-10; Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", pp.41-2, pp.65-66.

¹⁸⁷ Leeds Barroll provides this anecdotal description from the Venetian Secretary in England; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.199.

¹⁸⁸ Duke of Sully, Memoirs of Maximilian de Béthune, Duke of Sully (London, 1756), III, pp.134-5; cited in Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.66.

¹⁸⁹ Barroll also states that on arrival in London, the Earl of Mar demanded that his family should be permanently discharged of responsibility for the Scottish heirs; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.199.

¹⁹⁰ Riis, I, p.280; Gregg, p.8.

¹⁹¹ See chapter four. Antonio Donato, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 14 March 1619; C. S. P., Venetian, XV, 1617-19, p.494.

¹⁹² Anne rejected James's preferred Chamberlain, George Carew, in favour of 'one Mr. Kennedy', infuriating the King. Anne's favour towards Lucy Russell involved the rejection of such luminaries of Elizabeth I's court as Lady Kildare and Lady Walsingham. Details taken from a letter from Sir Thomas Edmonds to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 16 June 1603; Lewalski, p.22.

¹⁹³ D. Harris Willson, King James VI and I (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p.165.

¹⁹⁴ Scaramelli to the Doge and Senate, 6 August 1603, C. S. P., Venetian, 1603-7, X, pp.77.

¹⁹⁵ Veevers notes that Henrietta Maria's Catholicism would cause her to refuse to take part in the Caroline coronation; Veevers, p.82.

¹⁹⁶ Scaramelli to the Venetian Doge and Senate, 23 July 1603; C. S. P., Venetian, X, 1603-7, p.67. Furthermore, in a damage limitation exercise, Anne's refusal is elided from at least one of the late seventeenth-century official accounts of the ceremony; Coronation of King James the first and Queen Ann.

¹⁹⁷ Scholars working in the last century and at the beginning of the twentieth century have convincingly documented Anne's conversion. Adolphus Ward, 'Review of Was Frederick II's Daughter, Anne, Queen of Great Britain, a Convert to Catholicism?, by W. Plenkers (Copenhagen, 1888)', English Historical Review, 3 (1888), 795-8; Adolphus Ward, 'James VI and the Papacy', S. H. R., 2 (1905), 249-52; George F. Warner, 'James VI and Rome', E. H. R., 20 (1905), 124-7; William Bliss, 'The Religious Belief of Anne of Denmark', E. H. R., 4 (1889), 110; Alphons Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1889). Important source materials (also documenting James VI's knowledge and the use he made of it) include J.D. Mackie, (ed.), Negotiations between King James VI and I and Ferdinand I Grand Duke of Tuscany (London: Oxford University Press, 1927); David Lang (ed.), Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland (1603-25) (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1851); William Forbes Leith, S.J. (ed.), Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1885); Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (ed.), The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI King of Scotland (Edinburgh: A. Millar, 1766). Recent criticism which builds upon this research includes Albert J. Loomie, S.J., 'King James I's Catholic Consort', Huntington Library Quarterly, 34 (1971), 303-16; Maurice Lee Jr., 'King James's Popish Chancellor', in The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson, ed. by Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), pp.170-82; Leo Hicks, S.J., 'The Embassy of Sir Anthony Standen in 1603', (parts I-IV), Recusant History, Part I, 5 (1959-60), 91-128; Part II, 5 (1959-60), 184-222; Part III, 6 (1961-2), 163-94; Part IV, 7 (1963-4), 50-81.

¹⁹⁸ Scaramelli describes his first meeting with Anne:

After compliments I said that no other Prince had a higher esteem for her Majesty than the Republic, for many reasons too long to relate. At that she laughed, fancying that I alluded to her being a Catholic, and returned thanks.

30 July 1603, *C. S. P., Venetian, X, 1603-7*, p.72.

Niccolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador, in his Report on England presented to the Government of Venice in the year 1607;

The Queen is very gracious, moderately good looking. She is a Lutheran. The King tried to make her a Protestant; others a Catholic; to this she was and is much inclined, hence the rumour that she is one.

C. S. P., Venetian, X, 1603-7, p. 513.

¹⁹⁹ Forbes-Leith lists the Scottish Catholic aristocracy; Forbes-Leith, pp.361-5. There was a degree of controversy over the invitation of the Catholic Lady Huntly to the baptism of Princess Elizabeth. Anne supported her invitation because she had acted as a gossip for the Queen during her pregnancy and labour; Riis, I, p.280. Gregg records the Jean Drummond who tutored Prince Charles in Edinburgh as the third daughter of Lord Drummond and the second wife of Robert Ker, first Earl of Roxburgh. For Jean Drummond's favour with Anne and her relation to Seton, see Maurice Lee Jr., 'King James's Popish Chancellor', p.174. The date of Anne's conversion is less certain than its occurrence. Though in 1608 Abercromby describes it as having taken place around 1600, another Jesuit, Fr. McQuhirrie, writing in 1601, describes the conversion as having taken place three years earlier; Fr. McQuhirrie, 'The State of Scotland in 1601', in Forbes-Leith, pp.272. ff.; the Reverend Robert Abercromby to John Stuart, Prior of the Monastery at Ratisbon, in Forbes-Leith, pp.263-6. Riis suggests that the conversion to Calvinism of Johannes Sering, Anne's Thuringian chaplain, influenced her conversion. He dates Sering's decision as c. 1600; Riis, II, p.294.

²⁰⁰ Alisdair F. B. Roberts, 'The Role of Women in Scottish Catholic Survival', *S. H. R.*, 70 (1991), 129-50.

²⁰¹ Robert Abercromby's letter is printed in English in Forbes-Leith, pp.263-6. The Latin version is published in Bellesheim, III, pp.451-4. Although Abercromby's description of pillow-talk between Anne and James demands scepticism, James's response rings true; "Well, wife, if you cannot live without this sort of thing, do your best to keep things as quiet as possible; for if you don't, our crown is in danger"; Forbes-Leith, pp.264-5.

Anne's letter to Borghese, 'the protector of the Scottish nation at Rome', dated 31 July 1601, is frank in claiming James VI's authority. Documenting a previous correspondence between James and the papal powers, and warning of the danger of Elizabeth I's spies, the letter is open in its embrace of Catholicism. The letter is published by Warner, p.125. The original is in the British Library, Add. MS 37021, f.25; Warner cites Anne's signature, her seal and the contemporary Italian docket as proof of its authenticity. The contents of undated instructions sent with Sir Edward Drummond by Anne resemble the letter with which it was to be delivered. The mandata are dated as between May 1601 and June 1602 by A.O Meyer, *Clemens VIII und Jakob I von England* (Rome: Loes Her & Co., 1904), p.36. Meyer also publishes correspondence between Clement and Anne and, significantly, Clement and James VI and I; pp.38-41. The correspondence continues after the assumption of the English throne with a letter dated 28 January 1605 from Pope Clement VIII to Anne; Bellesheim, pp.473-75, p.473.

Critics who have detailed James VI's exploitation of Anne's conversion include J.D. Mackie, 'A Secret Agent of James VI', *S. H. R.*, 9 (1926), 376-86; J.D. Mackie, 'The Secret Diplomacy of King James VI in Italy prior to his Accession to the English Throne', *S.H.R.*, 21 (1924), 267-282; J.D. Mackie, Negotiations between King James VI and I and Ferdinand I; Ward; Meyer.

²⁰² Leo Hicks, S.J., 'The Embassy of Sir Anthony Standen in 1603', (parts I-IV). The gifts which were returned included an illegal 'Agnus Dei with relics, three pictures (two large and one small), a crown with the croslet and three other crowns'; Great British Historical Manuscripts Commission. Salisbury XVI, Ser. 9, ed. by M.S. Giuseppi (London: HMSO, 1933), p.100. Standen writes to the Jesuit Robert Persons;

The Queen is warned from dealing in Catho[lic] causes, and is very assiduous at sermons, so that I am in a stagger what shall become of my tokens.

17/27 December 1603. This letter was intercepted by Cecil and is endorsed “A dangerous letter”; C. S. P., Domestic Addenda 1580-1625, XII, pp.433-5, p.433. Everett Green describes a letter from ‘the Queen’s spiritual attendant’ which details Anne’s attendance at the sacrament in the Spanish ambassador’s house, and the fact that James was aware of this behaviour; Green, p.27, note 5. The letter is preserved in Colbert MS 6051, Paris.

²⁰³ Fradenburg, p.293, note 46.

²⁰⁴ Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline and a member of the powerful Octavian group, was secretly Catholic and his family were openly so. Seton was constantly under suspicion for his religious belief, damaging his career with support for the Earl of Huntly in 1596. In 1593, he was made the chairman of the committee managing Anne’s Scottish property. In addition, his sister-in-law was Lady Jean Drummond, the Queen’s favourite lady-in-waiting and a Catholic. Maurice Lee Jr., ‘King James’s Popish Chancellor’.

²⁰⁵ Scaramelli, C. S. P., Venetian, 1603-7, X, p.77.

²⁰⁶ 23 July 1603, C. S. P., Venetian, 1603-7, X, p.68.

²⁰⁷ Karen Lee Middaugh, “The Golden Tree”, p.30.

²⁰⁸ Scaramelli, 13 August 1603; C. S. P., Venetian, 1603-7, X, p.81.

²⁰⁹ Margaret Lael Mikesell, ‘The Formative Power of Marriage in Stuart Tragedy’, pp.233-45.

²¹⁰

Thus the world of the void. [Aristocrats] came to consume [...] sugar-and-spice constructions - all delicacy, all personalized in style, all removed from everyday sustenance - mirroring in miniature the fashion of the very rooms they sat in. All was representation. English aristocrats withdrew from publicness to like-”houses” to eat a like-”food” whose very stuff - no more than a metaphor or conceit - was void.

Patricia Fumerton, Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p.125. She also comments on the fact that the wafer known as *manus Christi* was a favourite banquet food; p.135.

²¹¹ Fowler, in Meikle, II, pp.194-5.

²¹² Per Palme documents the withdrawal of the monarch away from the Great Hall and into the privy apartments for dining; Per Palme, Triumph of Peace: a Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House (London: Thames & Hudson, 1957), p.111. The monarch would dine in public to a certain extent, in the Presence Chamber, and even the daily meals of the monarch were occasions of ceremonial. Fumerton interprets this withdrawal into ever-increasing privacy as ‘a perpetual regress’ which contributes to the formation of the Elizabethan and Jacobean aristocratic notion of self; Fumerton, p.69.

²¹³ John Nichols (ed.), The Progresses of James I (New York: AMS Press, undated), 3 vols, I, pp.168-87; this includes Ben Jonson’s Entertainment of the Queene and Prince Their Highnesse to Althorpe, in Nichols, James I, I, pp.176-87.

²¹⁴ Plays which mocked the Scots’ accents and that of James himself include John Day’s Isle of Gulls (1606) and Chapman, Jonson and Marston’s Eastward Ho! (1605); Chambers, III, p.286, p.254. Jenny Wormald examines the reception of James’s political rhetoric by the English Parliament and its basis in

Scottish political theory; Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I, Basilikon Doron and The Trew Law of Free Monarchies: The Scottish Context and the English Translation', in Peck, pp.36-54.

Chapter Two. Dance, gender and the politics of aristocratic performance in the early Stuart court masque.

A striking incident in the 1610 performance of Jonson's Love Restored reveals the significance of the dance in the Jacobean court masque. At the taking out for the revels, a remarkable event occurs. Recorded only in garbled form, it is nonetheless extremely revealing:

When they [the masquers] came to take out the ladies, beginning ... of Essex and Cranbourn, they were refused, ... example of the rest, so that they were fain ... alone and make court to one another, whe... was exceedingly displeased and spake low ...¹

Enacted by Frances Howard and her sister, of the powerful Howard faction, this refusal, all the more of a slight given the pre-arranged order of the taking out, suggests that the dance and the space associated with it are realms of potential female assertion. David Lindley suggests that the gentlemen were perhaps not of sufficient rank to dance with the noblewomen.² The status of the Howard faction and the performances associated with it are significant to the history of the Jacobean court masque. However, this chapter will deal with the issue of performance itself. If female expression is found in the refusal to perform, what does it then mean when a woman does *not* refuse to dance? Addressing this issue, I will examine the gender relationships embodied within the dance and their relationship to the performance of the court masque.

Traditional masque criticism has denigrated the significance of the dance. Margaret Maurer's statement that 'it is hard to imagine a less consequential action than a dance graphically disposing letters spelling out the name of Prince Charles' is representative of criticism which, privileging the authorial poetic text above the performance of the masque, regards dance as inconsequential. Maurer then states that nothing distracted Anne 'from the utterly ephemeral time, scarcely a page in the telling, that was her favourite part'; dance is characterised as a distraction, transitory and insubstantial in comparison to the meaningful permanent written text.³ This apparent opposition between permanence and ephemerality is significant. The study of both dance and the masque genre itself demonstrate an equal uncertainty. To attempt a total reconstruction of either is impossible; both are social forms, intimately connected to their historical moment of performance and ultimately ephemeral. Yet the critical privileging of the masque's transcript creates an inaccurate picture of the masque genre. The study of masquing dance in performance clarifies the significance of the performing aristocratic body and asserts an imaginative parity between dance and the masque form itself. Dance is a founding organisational principle of the masque genre, almost a microcosm of the larger form.⁴ The attempt to reconstruct either the dance or the masque is an effort to reach a past, unreachable moment.

'Yet the masquing dance is the performative enactment of the gender dynamics of both the court masque and the Jacobean court itself. While cultural criticism has only recently begun to reverse the neglect of dance as a field of investigation and its categorisation as a primarily feminine practice, early modern dance is the attribute of

the ideal male courtier and statesman.⁵ The feminine appropriation of this male performative idiom through the theatricality of self-imposed stasis - the refusal to perform - results in a humiliating enforced performance on the part of the male courtiers. Closely related to the strategy enacted by Queen Anne in her London coronation, Frances Howard's actions demonstrate that for the Jacobean courtier (male or female) both performance and the refusal to perform are theatrical acts; each fashions the aristocratic body (still or in motion) as the empowered spectacle of the audience's gaze. Robbed of volition and forced to 'make court' to one another, the rejected lords are forced to perform in a homosocial dance which violates the dictates of the gendered social dances of the revels. The masculine violation of the dance's gender norms and the empowering female rejection of performance create intense displeasure in the face of a threatening female assertion.

This section will examine the gender dynamics of the masquing dance, and its politicisation within the performance of the Jacobean courts. Dance expresses the decorum that works upon the gendered body of the aristocratic masquer; I will discuss these codes of bodily grace as they operate upon both the male and female courtier, assessing the interaction of the discourses of gender and politics in masque performance. The gendered masquing dance, so revealing of the power relations of the Jacobean courts, also has a profound impact upon the dynamics of aristocratic performance itself. The essentially performative nature of aristocratic behaviour in everyday social interaction leads to the nobility's masque performance. Behaviour in the dance mirrors that of everyday life: to dance involves the same level of

performance as daily social interaction. To follow this line of argument is to arrive at Stephen Orgel's statement that to dance before one's peer-group is wholly within the decorum of the court; from there the step towards a fuller aristocratic performative participation is not insurmountable.⁶ The decorum of dance facilitates aristocratic performance within the court masque genre.

In line with my concern over the expressivity of the silenced female body in performance, this section analyses the nature of dance as a sign-system, a means of the corporeal conveyance of significance. The relationship of dance and the dancing body to text in the motif of the graphic dance, pushing on the constraint of the aristocratic masquer to silence, is examined. The representation of the body and corporeal movement within the masque is an enactment of the ideology of the Jacobean gendered body. The performance of the male and female courtly dancer is examined to demonstrate the different relationships of the gendered aristocratic body to the erotics of performance and power, political and discursive, within the court masque.

Concepts and discourse of the dance.

The masque encapsulates not one but several forms of dance; the performative dances of the antimasque and the masque proper climax in the social dances of the revels, which actively involve the spectators. These social dances have a paramount influence on aristocratic performance and on the masque form itself. Although both the social and performative dances are displays which recognise their audience, these qualities are more attenuated in the revels than in the masque proper, which is the preserve of the virtuoso of the court elite, performed in isolation from the audience. The theatricalised dances of the antimasque, danced almost exclusively by professional male performers, are distinguished from those of the revels and the masque proper. The antimasque provides a contrast with the tenets of aristocratic decorum which, theoretically, are enacted within the dances of the main masque and the revels. In the court masque, a performance genre which juxtaposes the dances of courtiers and actors, transvestite male performers and female masquers, the discourses of class and gender are prominent.

The defining act of dance is bodily movement. The conceptualisation and interpretation of the moving body will form the subject of this analysis. As commentators, we are distanced from the forceful presence of the dancing body in both its physical and social manifestation; the historical moment of masque performance and the contemporary spectator's reactions to its bodily display are lost to us. However, the contemporary perception of the human body in Jacobean masque

dance and society are partially recoverable. In the masque dances, we deal simultaneously with the artistic conception of the kinetic body and the social manifestation of dance as a courtly attribute the performance of which is scrutinised by the watching peer-group.

A fundamental component of the Stuart court masque, dance is almost an unknown phenomenon. Within a brief text that cannot adequately represent the masque occasion, dance accounts rarely amount to more than a few lines. Concrete information concerning the dance's content is rare; these descriptions instead fall back upon impressionistic accounts of the dancers' skill, costumes and the audience's reaction. Dance suffers from the apparently insurmountable difficulty of rendering the kinetic within the textual, from the opposition of the dance's ephemerality and the permanence of the written word.⁷ In order to understand what the masquing dance actually entails it is necessary to resort to descriptions of dance from other contemporary sources. The profound methodological problems of the reconstruction of dance from its problematic textual representation extends also to visual records; showing only one moment in the dance, pictures provide no temporal duration or development.⁸ This analysis will, therefore, employ as much available evidence as possible, in an attempt to arrive at a coherent overview of the early modern masquing dance.

Dance in courtly society: evidence and sources.

Detailed information on early modern performative dance is extremely scarce. Pamela Jones lists the few existing records of the performative dances of Renaissance courtly entertainments, amounting to six dances, four of which are documented in Negri's social dance manual, Gratie d'Amore (1602).⁹ The main body of available evidence surrounds the social dance; treatises and descriptions include Caroso's Nobiltà di Dame (1600), Arbeau's Orchesography (1589), Copland's Maner of Bace Dauncing (1521), and the descriptions of the Inns of Court manuscripts.¹⁰ I shall also make use of the literary discourse of the dance referring to, among others, Elyot's Book named the Governör (1531), Sir John Davies' Orchestra (1596), and The Faery Queen of Edmund Spenser.

The masque form offers ample evidence of the relevance of the social dance to Renaissance court spectacle. The communal nature of the social dances of the revels, the culmination of the masque's performative experience and theoretical structure, are clear from the list of revels dances in the masque descriptions, although these minimal descriptions grow even less informative with the growth in stature of the antimasque during the Jacobean reign. The revels, the lengthiest masque component, are made up of the solemn and sedate measures and the lighter revels.¹¹ The majority of references within Anne of Denmark's lifetime are to the measures (both a structural entity and a dance), corantos and galliards.¹² Juxtaposed within the court masque, the social and performative dances are also close in style and execution. Referring to Negri's

theatrical choreographies, Jones remarks that 'it is striking how similar the choreographies are to social dances of the time'.¹³ While the performative dances of Renaissance spectacle form the roots of later theatrical dance, here they remain close to the social dance from which they developed. The masque juxtaposes two disparate forms of dance that as yet are not wholly divergent and in which the shared roots of their physical decorum are apparent.¹⁴

Beyond the near-silent masque texts, there are few surviving contemporary British dance descriptions. Apart from the six manuscripts of the Inns of Court commonplace books and Robert Copland's early sixteenth century treatise, little survives or was written. This paucity means that one must turn to continental manuals and treatises, keeping in mind Smith and Gatiss's warning against unexamined borrowings between British and continental dance theory and practice.¹⁵ Early dance scholars postulate a pan-European elite dance discourse and practice defined in opposition to non-courtly dance: 'imported dances [are] more or less modified in accordance with their new environment, but without losing their fundamental characteristics'.¹⁶ While this is qualified by the mutual influencing of courtly and non-courtly dance, a general similarity in the European courtly codes of dance and the body remains.¹⁷ A shared etiquette and dance practice is disseminated through the pan-European culture of courtly entertainments, ambassadors' reports, their itinerant status, and the developing trend of European travel and travelers' texts.¹⁸ The Valois and Elizabethan courts are linked in the dedication to Elizabeth I of the 1565 publication of Ronsard's mascarades, which Yates says 'had a great influence on the

subsequent development of the English masque'.¹⁹ Indeed, despite the divergent status of the female performer, the masque is markedly similar to the *ballet de cour*, most strikingly in the social dance of the *grand bal*, the equivalent of the revels. Although neither their practical influence upon the style of the Jacobean court dance nor the dates of their acquisition can be put forward with any certainty, Smith and Gatiss demonstrate the availability of the manuals of Negri and Caroso to the Jacobean court. Though scepticism has recently arisen towards an unconditional acceptance of Arbeau's *Orchesography*, for reasons of its geographical and social distance from the European courts, it is probable that a copy of Caroso's *Il ballarino* was acquired by the Royal Library between 1608 and 1611.²⁰

An important aspect of the analysis of dance as a means of communicating significance is the recognition that the significances it embodies are as socially specific as those of verbal language.²¹ Such variations, assumed or natural, are revealed by Erasmus' statement that 'among certain Spaniards to avoid looking at people is taken as a sign of politeness and friendship'.²² Differences in the conception of the human body impact upon physical decorum in the political arena of the masque. Carleton's comments on *Blackness* provide anecdotal evidence; though praised for taking Anne out to dance, the Spanish ambassador's dancing was compared to that of 'a lusty old Gallant with his Country Woman' - hardly the marker of a pan-European courtly discourse.²³ One interpretation blames the skill of the individual dancer, another identifies the Spanish mode of dance as distinct from that of the English court. The latter is supported by the apparently disconnected remarks of the French

ambassador, who, referring to the revels of Queens, comments that 'je ne voulois faire rire la compagnie, comme fit l'an passé l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne.'²⁴ The English courtier's judgment of dance is founded upon class discourse; to dance like a country-dweller is to break the decorum of courtliness, damning the unskillful dancer.

The social specificity of the dance, its decorum and its interpretation are further demonstrated in the lavolta. A social dance found in the revels of Campion's Lord Hay's Masque, the lavolta, which takes its name from the woman's high leaps, is an overtly sexual display involving close contact between male and female dancers who are usually kept at arms length.²⁵ Ramsay's Practice for Dauncing gives this colourless description: 'falinge into your pace, holdinge handes, & conveyinge ye gentlewoman with your right arme & right legge by boundes into 4 severall places.'²⁶

Arbeau is more revealing:

he who dances the lavolta must [...] draw the damsel as near to him as possible [...] When you wish to turn release the damsel's left hand and throw your left arm around her, grasping and holding her firmly by the waist above the right hip with your left hand. At the same moment place your right hand below her bust to help her to leap when you push her forward with your left thigh. She [...] will place her right hand on your back or collar and her left hand on her thigh to hold her petticoats in place [...] to perform the lavolta to the right you must place your hand on the damsel's back and the left below her bust, and, by pushing her with your right thigh under her buttocks, turn her in the opposite direction.²⁷

English practice intensifies the dance's sexual content; pictorial evidence suggests that the male propels the woman into the air with a grip on the hard bodice of her dress at the crotch (figure 2). Given Elizabeth I's enthusiasm for the lavolta - she is

purportedly the woman pictured - such courtly eroticism contrasts with the English court's rejection of public female speech on the grounds of its sexual associations.

Whatever the differences between localised dance practice, the 1604 entertainment for the visit of the Constable of Castile to the Jacobean court demonstrates the existence of a shared dance practice and discourse. The Constable left a record of these entertainments, in which Queen Anne and Prince Henry both danced.²⁸ Smith and Gatiss point out that in his account de Velasco refers to a four couple *brando*, a dance which only exists in this variant form in Negri's Gratie d'Amore. This dance is performed much as it was at the 1599 Milanese court festival for the marriage of the Infanta Isabella, which Negri mentions de Velasco as attending. Smith and Gatiss suggest that the use of a dance taken from an entertainment at which an honoured guest had been present is a typical humanist conceit. It also hints at the potential currency of dance throughout the early modern European courts.

Dance is an ambiguous act open to varying interpretations in many varied contemporary readings even within its domestic context. Renaissance masquing and social dance is a rigidly exercised, disciplined action which demands instruction, rehearsal and controlled movement. It is also, however, the outflow of kinetic and emotional energy, the expression of constrained desires in the highly conventionalised release of the body into movement. Dance is essentially ambiguous, 'un abandon contrôlé', a decorous means of signifying abandon without itself being abandoned.²⁹ Dance is also ambiguous within dramatic spectacle; a distracting interlude of pure

aesthetic pleasure, it also conveys significances which demand serious consideration. This is encapsulated in the masque genre's closing revels; though accorded minimal textual recognition, they last far longer than the action of the masque proper and without them the essential confirmation of courtly harmony cannot be seen to be achieved.

Polarised contemporary readings of the dance reveal a common ground of assumptions and concerns. Although neither the court nor the puritan faction are monolithic entities, within their respective discourses one can find examples of opposing perceptions of the dance. In general, the courtly educational manual favours dance as a gracious physical attribute denoting aristocratic skill and grace; Elyot writes at length of dance as an exercise to sharpen the mind of both dancers and spectators alike.³⁰ Opposition to dance centres on the surveillance and control of sexuality, often equated with a threatening, tempting female sexuality. Stubbs expostulates 'what clipping, what culling, what kissing and bussing, what smouching and slabbering one of another, what filthie groping and uncleane handling is not practised euery wher in these dancings?'³¹ Yet the fear of the perceived threat of sexual expression in dance is in fact a concern common to both puritan and courtly discourse.

Evidence of a courtly concern over the erotics of the dance is perhaps found in the elision of the body from contemporary dance treatises and courtesy manuals. Furthermore, contemporary interpretations of the dance express the ambiguity of the

kinetic principle itself. Motion is an ambiguous, readable act. Through motion dance is analogised to the structure of the heavens; the commonplace comparison of Renaissance dance to the movement of the heavenly spheres and the accompanying equation of divine creation and social procreation stakes a claim for the morality of movement in the face of puritan attacks.³² The problematic status of this synthesis is clarified in *Orchestra*, however, when Antinous goes to great length to ascribe the motion of the dance to that of the planets and spheres, with the sole aim of seducing Penelope.³³ Ideally, the masque dance is a kinetic incantation, drawing down blessings from the heavens upon the court.³⁴ The notion of the dance as physical summoning and as the movement of the spheres fashions the masque as a microcosm of the universal order and the dance as a physical statement of loyalty to the higher powers of the universe. Though those watching may not have fully appreciated the analogies, the analogy of the dance to the constructing force of universal creation denies Maurer's assertion of its triviality.

The discourse of the courtly body and of dance, itself a necessary courtly attribute, is also accessible through contemporary courtesy manuals and educational treatises. Courtly dance is founded upon the discourse of social courtesy. In this educative realm, where long years of training from an early age often lead to a high level of skill, dance demands the embodiment of social corporeal controls. Dance is most closely related to early modern ideologies of courtesy in the incorporation into the individual of social bodily decorum; 'it cannot be repeated often enough that the history of dance is the history of manners.'³⁵ In his sophisticated theorisation of the

inter-textuality of Renaissance dance and courtesy, Franko comments that there 'is nothing in [Arbeau's] description [of the simple basse danse] which would distinguish the simple or the double from walking in everyday life'.³⁶ Primarily social rather than dramatic, the masque is predicated on the social conventions controlling the body within the court's everyday interaction. The participants and audience of the social dance are governed by the same social decorum; the masque's noble performers are judged as they would be were they watching and the ideology of courtesy is literally incorporated into the dancers' movements. The masquer's body is constantly evaluated through the criteria of social grace. The co-ordinated movement of the masque, such as the masquers' ascent to the temple in Daniel's Vision, is a display of grace on the same level as the dance.³⁷ Performing within the theatricality of daily behaviour, the masquer is at all times subject to the demands of a *sprezzatura* also embodied in the masque genre itself. The illusion of the masque's created world must be as complete as possible and the artifice of the stage hidden, as must the codes of the body, the existence of which all are aware. Both dance and the masque are founded on the shared code of *sprezzatura*, which ultimately derives from courtly society.

The Howard sisters' rejection of the lords of Love Restored provides anecdotal evidence of the courtly etiquette of both the dance and the masque through the disruption of the shared ideology of courtesy. The scandal caused by this rejection demonstrates the non-optional nature of the taking out, but the greater offence is the disruption of feminine passivity.³⁸ Caroso asserts that once asked to dance, a lady

cannot refuse; presence in the dancing room constitutes participation in the dance ritual.³⁹ Caroso's reasoning is clarified, however, in the description of one occasion when refusal is justified: 'Note that if she should be pressed for quite some time by one of her blood relatives, she must on no account dance, so as to avoid the scandal which could ensue; and if she so comports herself all will praise her'.⁴⁰ Despite the control of the dance's sexual display, it is primarily perceived as heteroerotic: to dance with a relative is scandalous, evoking a model of incest. The basic unit of the fundamentally erotic Renaissance dance against which the Howards offend is the heterosexual couple, in which the male has pre-eminence. Caroso's concern with unwarranted female refusal suggests, however, that it is an ideal to which practice does not always adhere. Dance is a forum for a feminine expression which destabilises the codification of the patriarchy. These actions, sometimes resulting in the abandonment of the ball, attack the dance's status as a symbol of union and the equilibrium of the male and female dance partnership.⁴¹ Dance is an act with intense social repercussions. To dance before one's peers is permissible but fraught with the danger of censure if the decorum of the performing body is not observed.

Aristocratic codified behaviour is essentially theatrical; the performance of certain modes of conduct is intended to constitute the courtly body as a spectacle for its audience.⁴² Such specularly means that to dance before an audience does not breach Renaissance courtly codes. This is shown in the similarity between dance and everyday theatricalised movement, as the stance of Negri's dancers, very similar to that of the courtly greeting, demonstrates (figure 3). Though Caroso warns against the

recognition of the audience to the neglect of the dance partner, these dancers adopt an open-faced stance that lays out their bodies for the audience's interpretation, a trait evident in performative masque dances but also present within social dance.⁴³

The masque dance is also the corporeal performance of power, the kinetic and visual representation of the court's power structures. The physical expression of social order is most explicit in the reverence, which the commonplace books of the Inns of Court show preceded each dance. Lowering the body, it is a gesture of respect to the dance partner which, when performed to the monarch, is a corporeal expression of the sovereign's elevated status. Elyot characterises the reverence as the marker of divine worship and royal homage; it is a kinetic affirmation of the social order.⁴⁴ It is also relevant to my later analysis that the reverence is the opening gesture of conversation.⁴⁵ The Renaissance court's theatricalised codes of bodily behaviour draw the aristocrat into the dance and provide the impetus for a more explicitly theatricalised noble masque participation. The dance propels the aristocrat onto the masquing stage.

The gendered dancing body.

The codes of grace and decorum operating upon the dancing body are gendered. Though predating the cultural production of the Jacobean court, Sir Thomas Elyot's exposition of the gendered characteristics of contemporary social dance in the

Book named the Governor (1531) provides an insight into the conceptualisation of the dance at a time crucial to the masque's later development.

Now it behoveth the dancers and also the beholders of them to know all qualities incident to a man, and also all qualities to a woman likewise appertaining.

A man in his natural perfection is fierce, hardy, strong in opinion, covetous of glory, desirous of knowledge, appetiting by generation to bring forth his sembable. The good nature of a woman is to be mild, timorous, tractable, benign, of sure remembrance, and shamefast [...]

Wherefore, when we behold a man and a woman dancing together, let us suppose there to be a concord of all the said qualities [...] And the moving of the man would be more vehement, of the woman more delicate, and with less advancing of the body, signifying the courage and strength that ought to be in a man, and the pleasant soberness that should be in a woman.⁴⁶

Elyot suggests that the juxtaposition of masculine and feminine traits in the social dance creates a balance of opposites which 'betokeneth concord'.⁴⁷ Different kinetic demands placed upon male and female dancers result in the performance of distinct kinds of actions. This is particularly clear in the threatening male masquers' dance of Hymenaei which, culminating in the drawing of swords, exemplifies the fierce nature attributed to the male followed by the balance of male and female in their ranked pairings.

The gendering of the dance is embodied in the detail of dance steps, most clearly in the peacock-like male display of the galliard. Caroso's dance *Nido d'Amore* embodies Elyot's equation; the male performs galliard leaps and capers while the woman dances a tordion, the more solemn partner dance of the galliard.⁴⁸ Describing the execution of the *pied en l'air droite* or *gauche*, Arbeau advises that 'the said movement must be performed barely off the ground and gently as a damsel might do

it'.⁴⁹ Caroso, in the *Laura Suave*, also lays out the decorum of feminine spectatorship during the male performance. Under constant scrutiny, the female must win the spectators' admiration with small and graceful movements; she must not 'resemble a statue' but adjust her skirts, move her fan, and sway gracefully.⁵⁰

In the same dance, this rather simplistic model of male and female performance is somewhat complicated. Caroso states that the lady 'should do the same variations as the gentleman has just done'.⁵¹ Though he provides an alternative set of steps, this is for reasons of performative skill, and such accommodations are also made elsewhere for the less accomplished male dancer. Improvisation, an integral aspect of Renaissance dance performance, offers further alternatives, yet both genders are presented upon the same level of display, a leveling also found in English practice, as documented by John Ramsay's spanioletta: 'heave upp ye woman in your armes, parte againe, pace, traverse meete againe, the woman heave up ye man, honor & soe ende'.⁵² These steps, however, are the deliberate transgression of the norm rather than an assertion of gender equality. Aesthetic pleasure is created through the shocking denial of performative and social expectation in this display of female strength. Davies describes just such an effect in 'a passage that, in a poem fraught with the problematic nature of its premise, tallies remarkably well with Ramsay's practical description:

What if by often interchange of place
Sometime the woman gets the upper hand?
That is but done for more delightful grace,
For on that part she doth not ever stand;
But, as the measure's law doth her command,
She wheels about and ere the dance doth end
Into her former place she doth transcend.⁵³

Pleasure is heightened by the knowledge that the norm will soon be reasserted. Differences in the limitations placed upon the genders, even if occasionally suppressed, remain powerful. The dance's erotic display is a forceful presence even within those texts that seek to justify the dance as a respectable pastime, yet female erotic display is necessarily more modest than that of the male.

The gaze of the dancer, the model of the body's ideal stance and the marker of physical and sexual decorum, is gendered; the ideal male gaze is active and the female passive.⁵⁴ Though modesty is a prerequisite of the gaze of both sexes - Arbeau's male branle dancer glances 'modestly the while at the spectators' - the gentleman should also throw 'a discreetly tender sidelong glance at the damsel'.⁵⁵ In contrast, both the attributes and object of the female gaze are rigidly controlled; Arbeau's description of the pavan characterises the dancer's necessary acknowledgement of the audience as sexual, as 'an occasional glance of virginal modesty at the onlookers'.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the female is prohibited from gazing at her male partner; she should not 'raise her eyes too high while dancing, [...] nor turn her head hither and thither in order to look at this or that gentleman, for this is a thing of vanity'.⁵⁷ Acknowledging the audience but not her partner, the woman is complicit in the passive staging of the female body, reified within a gendered inequality of vision. The impossibility of returning the active male gaze makes a fetish of the female dancer. Caught between her status as an erotic point of focus for spectator and male partner, and that of passive spectator of her partner's own display, the ideal female dancer displays a passive sexuality within the specularity of both dance and the masque genre itself.

Does the dance create or simply reflect such gendered characteristics? John Davies' Orchestra (1596), in particular those stanzas dealing with the sex-changes of Tiresias and Caeneus, provide grounds to approach this issue. A failed poem documenting a failed seduction, Orchestra's apology for dance through the analogy of chaste love is undermined by Penelope's refusal to dance with a suitor other than her husband. Antinous' sensual seduction attempts register the dance's eroticism in the 'many kisses wet' of the waves on the shore and the courtship of the planets in dance.⁵⁸ Antinous' courtly justifications are rejected when Penelope does not dance and the poem itself fails to manifest the vision of the Elizabethan court. The following stanzas are especially significant:

And how was Caeneus made at first a man,
And then a woman, then a man again,
But in a dance? which when he first began,
He the man's part in a measure did sustain;
But, when he chang'd into a second strain,
He danc'd the woman's part another space
And then return'd unto his former place.

Hence sprang the fable of Tiresias,
That he the pleasure of both sexes tried;
For in a dance he man and woman was,
By often change of place from side to side;
But for the woman easily did slide
And smoothly swim with cunning hidden art,
He took more pleasure in a woman's part.⁵⁹

Tiresias' sex-change, driven by the experience of female sexual pleasure, aligns dance with sexuality and the sexual, registering gender in the spatial organisation of the male and female in the dance. Yet the stanzas deconstruct the unproblematic correspondence of gender with inner essence. Caeneus' playing of the 'woman's part'

opposes biological necessity to the role-playing of gender and mimesis in dance: to dance as a woman is to be perceived as a woman. Dance is an arena of assumed identity and the principal role to be played is that of gender. Focusing on the crossing of gender boundaries, Davies implies that dance creates the perceptions of gender that register these shifts. Myths of sex-change result from the choice of dance roles: 'Hence sprang the fable of Tiresias'. Dance creates text as it creates Orchestra itself; it is presented as the source of myth, text and narrative, an assertion of the primacy of dance in the Renaissance hierarchy of the arts which ties in with the synthesising genre of the masque itself.⁶⁰ Registering dance as the source of gender, it defines that concept as impersonation rather than true change.

This discourse defines dance as an ordering force of social perception, with a close theoretical affinity to the masque. Heterosexual social dance operates through spatial and kinetic perception. It is the change of sides within the ranked dance which registers gender-change. Tiresias' gender-change is effected 'By often change of place from side to side', and Caeneus became a man again when he 'return'd unto his former place': to cross the spatial lines of the dance is to cross the boundaries of gender. This is intimately related to the Whitehall Banqueting House's physical configuration, organised around the sightlines of a single privileged spectator, its hierarchy representing the macrocosmic divine order. Both dance and the masque define social identity through position in the arena of performance and the body's position in space. In a poem named after the dancing space itself, Davies goes further

than Elyot, envisaging dance not only as a spatial and kinetic metaphor for the perception of gender but proposing it as a cause for the existence of these perceptions.

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The basic unit of the social dance is the heterosexual couple; the dances of the revels demand a feminine participation in order to enact social confirmation. Yet the refusal of the dance in Love Restored is not merely a simplistic rejection of social unity, but a potential rejection of the controlling physical decorum of the court. The codes of the courtly body themselves facilitate aristocratic performance in the masque; dance is not considered to be performance as such because it is an extension of the theatricality of aristocratic daily behaviour within the public space of masque ritual. Dance is, therefore, the corporeal performance and affirmation of the governing codes which operate so stringently upon both male and female dancers - it is a confirmation of the social structures of the court. The fact that these codes dictate both male and female movement establishes a degree of equivalency between the masquing of both sexes. The aristocrat is drawn into the court masque through the dance; though the details which express the gendering of the dance differ, the masque participation of the male and female courtier share the roots of their legitimate performance.

The absence of grace: antimasque, gender and decorum in The Masque of Queens.

In this section, I will discuss the dances of the antimasque and their relation to the gender politics of the masquing occasion, applying the theories laid out in the first section of this chapter.⁶¹ The dance of the witches in Queens, a masque danced by Queen Anne and her women, reveals the Renaissance conceptualisation of the feminine and the construction of these notions within the dance. The juxtaposition of dancing noblewomen with the transvestite male professionals of the antimasque, makes fertile ground for the analysis of the gender dynamics of the masque genre.

Entering from 'an ugly hell', the witches dance:

with a strange and sudden music they fell into a magical dance full of preposterous change and gesticulation, but most applying to their property, who at their meetings do all things contrary to the custom of men, dancing back to back and hip to hip, their hands joined, and making their circles backward, to the left hand, with strange fantastic motions of their heads and bodies.⁶²

Although Jonson's impressionistic description makes it difficult to visualise actual choreographic motion, it is remarkably revealing of the decorum of the dancing body. Through the representation of the deviant, the construction of the ideal feminine dance is defined. Dance is a performative expression of the polarised perception of femininity, complicitous in the construction of these positive and negative extremes.

The witches dance in contrast to the idealised queens 'personated' by Anne and her ladies.⁶³ Professional transvestite male dancers, free from the constraints of aristocratic femininity, represent its antithesis with impunity. The Dame, 'naked

armed, barefooted, her frock tucked', is reminiscent of the Queen's scandalous appearance in Blackness, her display of blackened flesh impeaching Jacobean feminine propriety.⁶⁴ The male dancers' costumes and the witches, stock figures of the transgressive female, define ideal courtly femininity through its antithesis. The witches' dance derives its negative force from its opposition to the court's expectations rather than from incompetent execution, drawing upon shared courtly assumptions to define as other that which denies those expectations.⁶⁵ The antimasque dance highlights the pleasure of broken aesthetic expectations, giving pleasure in the temporary manifestation of grotesque shapes, so remote from Renaissance standards of beauty. Contrasting the witches' dance to that of the masquers, and to the aristocracy in the revels, the antimasque dances illuminate the practice of the social and performative dances of the masque proper.

Though no designs for this antimasque survive, those of the male satyrs of Oberon (1611) are a visualisation of the antithesis of courtly bodily grace (figure 4). The clearly signaled arm motion, raised above the dancer's head in a way not found in courtly dance, the dancers' skipping movements, twisted legs, bowed heads and body all contrast with the ideal conception of the masquers' stance found in Inigo Jones's costume designs (figure 5).⁶⁶ The description of the hags' dance makes their deliberate contradiction of the norms of courtly dance explicit. The 'strange fantastic motions' of the dancers' heads and bodies are the antithesis of the desired posture of the torso which, though it must not be stiff, should not depart radically from the vertical. Even in the reverence the torso remains straight and bends only at the hips; its essential

rectitude remains unchanged (figure 6).⁶⁷ Governed by the Aristotelian virtue of the mean, related to the moralised interpretation of the dance and to the use of the ethical term *measure* as part of dance terminology, bodily grace requires flexibility; Caroso advocates that the graceful body be slightly bent, the head still erect.⁶⁸ In effect, impropriety consists in the visibility of the governing code of the body's conduct.⁶⁹ Caroso's description of the disposition of the head in the reverence implicates it in the same postural dynamics; 'in moving your foot backward, draw your body back slightly, spreading your knees a little, and while bending them keep your head ever erect'.⁷⁰ Calviac lays out the ideal:

la tête ne doit estre ni trop baissé [a sign of laziness], ny trop haut [a sign of arrogance] [...] Mais se doyt tenir droict et sans effort, car cela ha bonne grace. [...] Et ne faut point aussi que sa test pande d'un coste ny d'autre dessus son corps, a la mode des hypocrites⁷¹

Calviac reveals the interpretative connection between bodily grace and inner moral condition; dance and the body are subjected to a moralised interpretation. External appearance is a marker of the inner condition and if the tilting of the head can indicate hypocrisy, inappropriate body movement denotes the antithesis of the courtly ideal:

these men of low condition who keep dancing schools, not being able to imitate the bearing and fitness of our nobility, seek to recommend themselves by perilous leaps and other strange mountebank antics. And the ladies can more cheaply show off their carriage in the dances where there are various contortions and twistings of the body, than in certain other formal dances where they need only walk with a natural step and display a natural bearing and their ordinary grace.⁷²

The movements of the hags' heads and torsos and the 'sudden changes' of their dance identifies their non-adherence to the grace of the upright body in the codes of courtesy.

Reuerence



CAPRIOLE



Figure 6.) Reuerence and capriole; Arbeau, p.80, p.91.

Predicated on the specularity of the dancing body, the moralised interpretation of the dancers' movements is encouraged in the presentation of the dancer to be read by the audience of the antimasque dance. Though such specular interpretability is a feature of all the masque dances, the performative dance characteristically emphasises choreographic designs that frequently 'open outwards towards stage-front'.⁷³ The hags are laid out before the audience as a negative model for the construction of the court's norms of both dance and femininity.

Montaigne's observations reveal the collision of class and gender discourse integral to the masque genre. The antimasque's transgressive representation of femininity through the absence of postural grace denotes exclusion from the courtly elite, based on the definition of the pan-European discourse of courtly dance against non-courtly dance forms. The rural morris dance of the antimasque of Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple (1613) opposes elite and proletarian dance forms through the filter of the aristocratic court masque.⁷⁴ The idealised dancing courtier is fashioned in opposition to a non-courtly other that even at its most ideal is grotesque (the hags), sexually explicit (the satyrs) or insane (the morris), a bestial grotesquerie evident in the engravings for the Ballet de Renaud (1617) (figure 7). Class overrides gender in the court masque to contribute to an equality of male and female noble performance within the dance.

Jonson's description also illuminates the relationship between dancers, whose pairing is constantly emphasised in the witches' back-to-back and hip-to-hip stance

and joined hands. Once again, these actions are the antithesis of the courtly dance. Pairs of single-sex dancers are not unusual in Renaissance entertainments; an engraving of Dorat's Balet des Polonais (1563) shows a female geometrical dance in which some of the dancers hold hands (figure 8).⁷⁵ Jonson's tripartite emphasis is significant, however. The 'back to back' dance is a reversal of the stance adopted within the social and performative dance; for example, at no point do the dancers of Negri's performative dances pair up back to back.⁷⁶ Positioned in physical opposition to the courtly stance, the witches reverse the social relationship between individuals in a visual realisation of the inversion of the court's hierarchical order.

The witches' hip-to-hip posture is also transgressive. Though precisely this form of male/female contact occurs in the lavolta, the transvestite female adoption of this motif transgresses the social and sexual norm of dance. In his attack on dance as 'an introduction to whordom', Stubbs' proposed solution is a gendered separation, 'women are to daunce by themselues (if they wil needs daunce) and men by themselues'.⁷⁷ Yet this model of purity is inverted through the performance of the female dance by the transvestite personification of non-courtly femininity, which asserts a negative model of female community in opposition to the ideal order of the court and draws upon the main masque's deification and demonisation of the amazon.⁷⁸ Female exclusivity is a forceful presence within the controversial female community of Queens. The polarised opposition between the apparently idealised masquers and the demonised witches which hints at the negative model of the amazon staged in Epicoene, also performed in 1609, is collapsed.⁷⁹ The amazon Penthesilea is

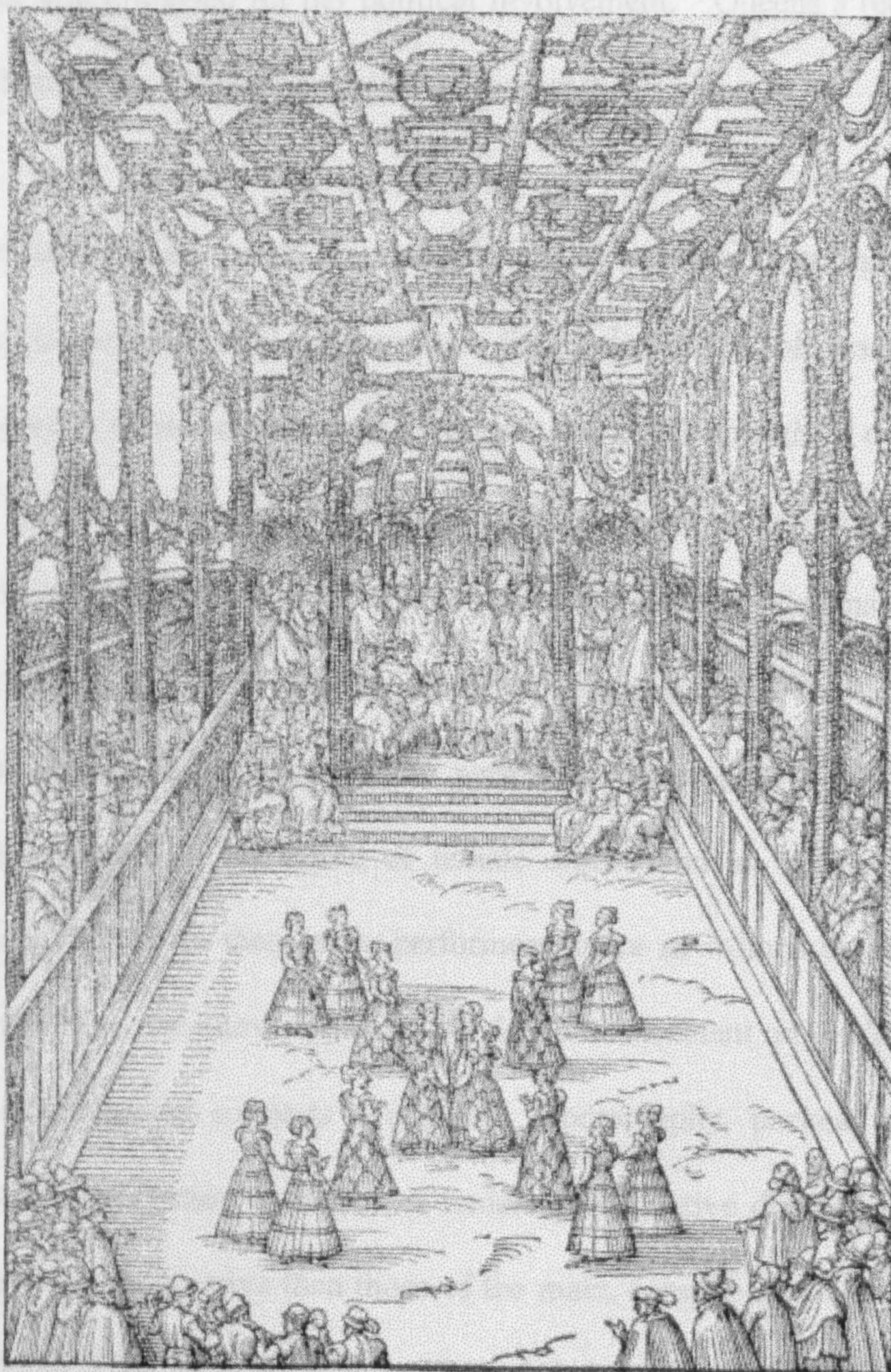


Figure 8.) Dorat, Le Balet des Polonais (1573); Franko, Dance as Text, p.22.

personated by Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, a woman simultaneously idealised by the masque and criticised for her political involvement.⁸⁰ Queens's representative strategies of femininity will be the subject of chapter three.

At an unspecified point the dancers circle 'backward, to the left hand', transgressing the dance's ethical conformity to the motion of the spheres. The Throne of Beauty moves in three simultaneous directions; that of left to right is called *motum planetarum*.⁸¹ In its overt female sexuality, usurpation of the social order, and female community, the witches' dance is an enactment of anti-dance criticisms in isolation from the moral justification provided by the motion of the spheres. The self-conscious nature of this display is revealed by the performers' masculinity; this dance is a masculine representational recreation of female crimes and an attempt to stage a female submission. But do these male performers dance as women or as men? The limited evidence does not allow certainty, but Jonson's comment on the 'preposterous change and gesticulation' suggests a complex choreography, packed with sudden switches of direction. Extant evidence of female performative dances suggests that they are simpler and less active than those of the male, complying to the decorum of female movement.⁸² Do these witches compound their transgression by dancing in a masculine style? The success or failure of the banishment of these transgressive female characters will be discussed in chapter three.

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The governing codes of courtly physical decorum are defined through the witches' transgressive dance. Yet the antimasque, apparently the repository of all that is opposed to the court, in fact relates to the masque proper on a more problematised footing than that simplistic equation allows. Complicating factors arise in the polarised conceptualisation of the female in the early modern period which asserts common factors between idealised masquers and demonised witches, one of which is the embodiment of past female transgressions in the transvestite male witches. Such leveling simultaneously denies the parallel polarisation of the goddess/witch and courtly/non-courtly classes.

Dance and language: the dances of the main masque.

This section will analyse the dances of the main masque through the theoretical constructs laid out above. I will examine the politics of the elite masquing dance, filtered through the problematic female relationship to performance. Renaissance aristocrats gain a foothold in masque performance for several reasons. Not the least important is that the masque was not created for the stage, with its problematic social status, but is a form into which a stage was introduced.⁸³ Furthermore, the theatricality of the founding code of the aristocratic body means that the masque in fact demands that the noble should dance, enacting their own theatricalised identities in a manner which is not regarded as performance by contemporary courtly society and so does not breach the prohibition on aristocratic acting.⁸⁴ If courtly identity is created through its display, then it must also be enacted within the masque. As a safeguard to the masquers' status, however, they are distanced from speech, the mark of the socially marginalised player. I propose, however, that this distinction, which enabled the aristocrat of both genders to perform, is not as clear-cut as it appears. While the noble is implicated in the increasing theatricalisation of performance, culminating in Henrietta Maria's acting, the relationship of dance and the dancing aristocratic body to linguistic expression pushes upon the constraint of the aristocrat to silence.⁸⁵ The relationship between the interpretative sign-systems of the dance and language is particularly suggestive given the perceived links between female speech and the sexualised female body. The

dancing body itself destabilises the prohibition on aristocratic speech through the physical and kinetic expression of the dance.

Focusing upon Hymenaei (1606), in which the co-performance of male and female masquers highlights the masque genre's gender dynamics, I will explore the relationship of dance to language and aristocratic performance. Jonson describes the masquers' dances:

they danced forth a most neat and curious measure, full of subtlety and device, which was so excellently performed as it seemed to take away that spirit from the invention that the invention gave to it, and left it doubtful whether the forms flowed more perfectly from the author's brain or their feet. The strains were all noticeably different, some of them formed into letters very signifying to the name of the bridegroom, and ended in manner of a chain, linking hands.⁸⁶

In the motif of writing-in-dance, the dancing of letters through the positioning of the dancers' bodies in relation to one another on the dancing floor, the dancing body is explicitly textualised - it becomes language. Dance is most obviously related to language in that both express significance. A physical sign-system, dance achieves bodily communication through the interpretation of the stance and posture of the dancing body. Dance aligns itself with the masque's expressive alternatives to the textual and the linguistic - painting, scenery, costume and make-up. In the opposition of the masque's 'bodies' and 'souls' of Hymenaei's preface, Jonson aligns the linguistic with the spiritual and the performative with the corporeal.⁸⁷ In the opposition of the ephemerality of performance to the preserving act of textual publication, the silent masquer is identified with the masque's 'carcass'.⁸⁸

The co-performance of male and female courtiers in Hymenaei influences the masque's dance. No longer single sex, the pairing of martial males and reticent females in the dance is the performative representation of Elyot's gender equation. Both Hymenaei and Campion's Lords' Masque, the only other double masque of the Stuart court, are marriage masques, further reflecting the gender dynamics of Jacobean courtly society as Elyot's equation is institutionalised in the marriage contract. This dance is also, however, an intensification of the display of the revels and of courtly interaction; the heterosexual dance of the revels is staged in the main masque, illuminating the theatricality of aristocratic dance performance. Within such a performance, I will discuss the gender dynamics of the textual dancing aristocratic body.

Dance and language: theory and performance.

The relationship of dance and language is grounded in the discourse of Renaissance humanism. Montaigne's Apology for Raymond Sebond describes the communicative powers of the body; outlining the variety of potential meaning created by the hands, head, eyebrows and shoulders, he concludes that there is 'no movement that does not speak both a language intelligible without instruction, and a public language'.⁸⁹ This assertion of bodily legibility has great currency within the dance's discursive context. While denying its veracity, Elyot grounds the development of dance in the fable of the Sicilian tyrant Hiero whose subjects, forbidden speech, evolved a system of bodily communication signals.⁹⁰ Dance is extrapolated from

physical communication and encapsulates such expressive potentiality. Arbeau's comparison of the dance's component steps to a linguistic grammar makes the systemic nature of this communicative code and its independent generation of meaning explicit.⁹¹ The Renaissance discourse of dance ascribes linguistic qualities to the dance; *Orchestra* describes the coranto as 'current traverses, / That on a triple dactyl foot do run'.⁹² Caroso provides a diagram to substantiate his description of the *Contrapasso Nuovo* as 'created according to correct mathematical principles based on Ovid's verse' (figure 9).⁹³ The association of the dance with the linguistic and textual claims greater currency through the invocation of classical authority.

The concept of dance-as-text can be further illuminated through the apparently oppositional theme of the physicality of language. Dance and language exist in a shared physicality. Davies' sensual description of speech production is a wonderful example of the physicalisation of the linguistic:

the queen with her sweet lips divine
Gently began to move the subtle air,
Which, gladly yielding, did itself incline
To take a shape between those rubies fair.⁹⁴

Asserting speech's physicality, the contemporary association between feminine speech and sexuality is further reinforced. Though the usually silent female is ascribed speech, the poem reifies Penelope through its intense focus upon her erotic physicality. Speech is an act of kinesis which exists on the same level of physicality as the dance: 'all the words that from your lips repair / Are nought but tricks and turnings of the air.'⁹⁵



Figure 9.) Ovidian design; Caroso, Noviltà di Dame, p.242.

Arbeau acknowledges the currency of the equivalency of dance and language; 'most of the authorities hold that dancing is a kind of mute rhetoric by which the orator, without uttering a word, can make himself understood by his movements'.⁹⁶ Comparisons between dance and rhetoric extend beyond shared terminology ('figure') to the shared performance of the dancer and the orator. Though bearing in mind the distinction between the written word and the orator's performance of the word to which classical sources compare the dance, dance and language are intimately related through textual creation. The performance of dance and language is fashioned in the model of Renaissance courtesy through the shared gestures, stance and posture of the dancer and orator.⁹⁷ Although not strictly the act of a orator, the opening reverence of courtly conversation and dance is the kinetic establishment of a self-consciously performative framework for what follows.

The comparisons between the performance of language and dance are often drawn between dance and the codified linguistic systems of poetry or rhetoric. However, comparisons extend into the apparently free-form language of conversation, which is in fact subject to the same disciplines and physical controls. Erasmus' De civilitate morum puerilium lays down' guidelines for conversational behaviour, highlighting the common ground between corporeal and linguistic control. Both depend on an adherence to the standards of the permissible and aim to win spectators' good opinion. The bodily and the linguistic are equivalent; just as the genitalia must be hidden from view - 'to be even more polite, the cap held in both hands with thumbs extended should cover the private parts' - so too are they unmentionable in polite

conversation; 'whatever causes offence when revealed to men's sight likewise offends when forced upon their hearing.'⁹⁸ It is in the active presence of the human body in performance that language and dance find common ground.

The patterning of the dance.

Jonson's description of the main masque dances of Hymenaei contains two important images of the patterns of the dance, the chain and the writing-in-dance of the bridegroom's name. The geometric dance's formation of symbolic patterned images by the dancers' bodies intensifies the interaction of masquing dance and language.⁹⁹ Designed to be seen from above, the patterning of the dancing body is legible; significance is created through the drawing of recognisable or meaningful patterns on the floor through the positioning of the dancers' bodies in relation to one another. One such pattern is the simple chain-figure which completes the masquing dance of Hymenaei, which can be interpreted as Reason's 'golden chain let down from heaven'.¹⁰⁰ Discussing Valois entertainments, Franko describes dance as a legible text to be read by the monarch in an enactment of the power relationship between ruler and subject, the interpretation of the geometric dance imposes a reading upon the dancing body.¹⁰¹

Perhaps the most fully documented geometric dances are those of the Ballet de Monsieur de Vandosme (1610) in which noblemen dance complex figures from 'l'alphabet des anciens Druides'.¹⁰² The *livret* distributed before the performance

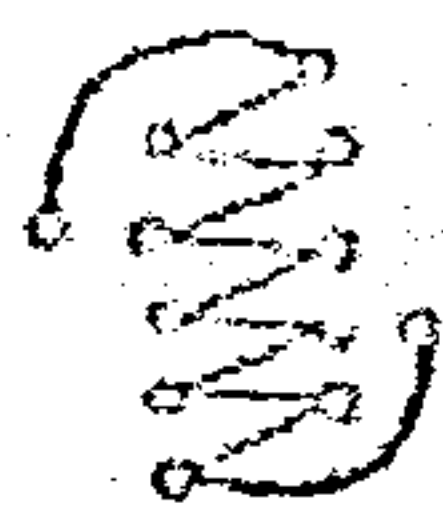
reproduces these figures for the audience's interpretation (figure 10). Although performing an emblematic pseudo-linguistic system, this ballet is significant because it represents the intensification of the imaginative equivalency of dance and language: rather than simply performing graphic patterns, dance becomes a linguistic system of sorts. This pseudo-language also highlights the physicality of text itself. The performance of dance and the writing of text are fundamentally bound by the bodily kinesis of inscription. Geometric dance enacts the physical act of writing. In the graphic dance, the patterning of dancers' bodies forms actual letters; the audience witnesses the literal bodily creation of text. In this, the closest approximation of dance and language so far examined, the body itself becomes language.

There are several examples of the graphic dance in Renaissance European entertainments, one of which is the dancing of Prince Charles' name in Queens. Maurer's disparaging opinion of the graphic dance is supported by Bacon's assertion that 'turning dance into figures is a childish curiosity'.¹⁰³ Yet the graphic dance's enactment of the physicalisation of language and of the dance's linguistic potential is of extreme consequence; the female bodily inscription of the future king's name in dance resonates within the masque's gender politics. Maurer's insightful analysis underestimates the status of bodily inscription within dance, an art by no means trivial to the Jacobean court.

The dance of the name of the 'most sweet and ingenious prince, Charles, Duke of York' is a patriarchal manipulation of the female body.¹⁰⁴ The Stuart masque asserts



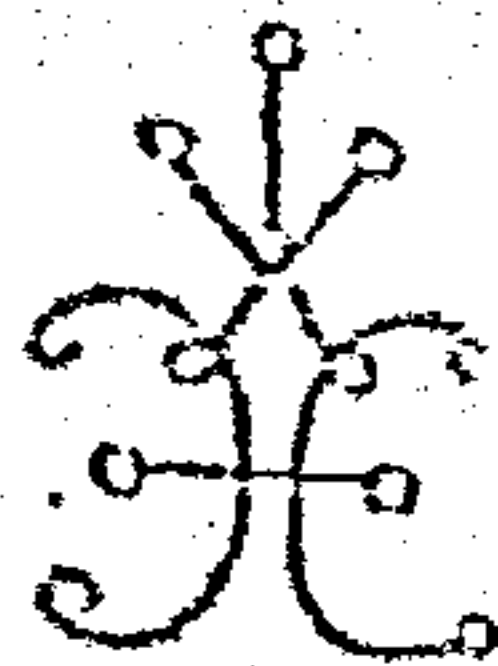
AMOUR PVISSANT.



AMBITIEUX DESIR.



VERTVEUX DESSEIN.



RENOM IMMORTEL.



GRANDEUR DE COURAGE.



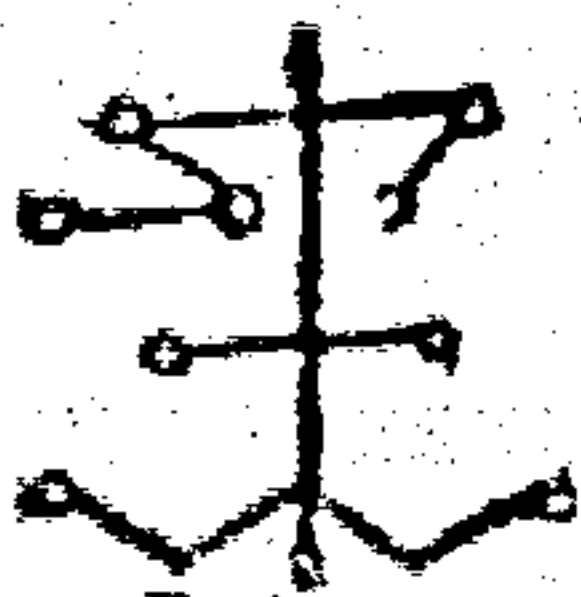
PEINE AGREABLE.



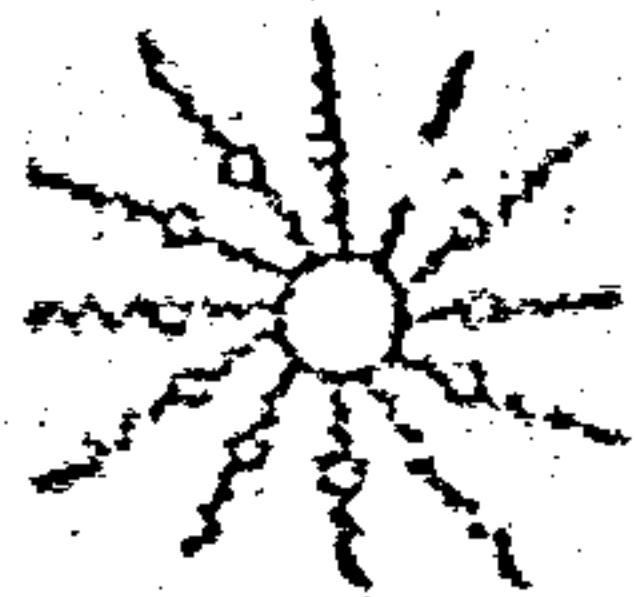
CONSTANCE ES PROVEE.



VERITE COGNEVE.



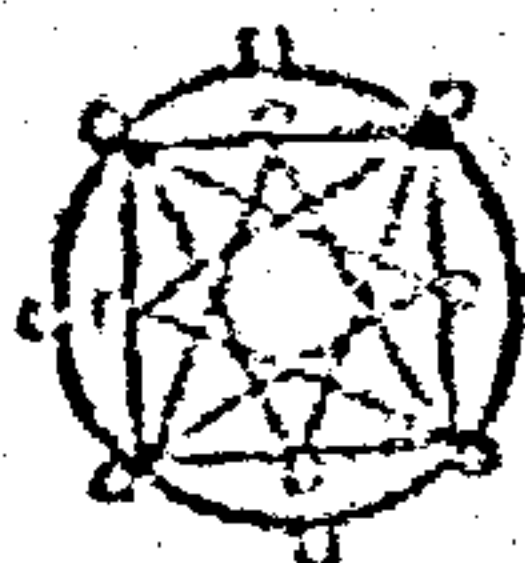
HEVREUX DESTIN.



AIME DE TOVS.



COVRONNE DE GLOIRE.



POVVOIR SUPRESME.

Figure 10.) Designs from the Ballet de Vandosme; Franko, Dance as Text, p.18.

that body's legibility; in Daniel's Vision the female masquers' bodies are 'beautiful characters of sense [...] easier to be read than their mystical Ideas'.¹⁰⁵ Feminine corporeality makes the abstract platonic Idea available for interpretation. While the female body literally incorporates the name, the linguistic marker of masculine authority, this marker itself becomes the public corporeal performance of feminine conformity. Within Queens, however, feminine submission is not a given; as I shall demonstrate in the following chapter, the physical performance of the female masquers is the locus of conflict between alternative representative strategies of femininity.

In contrast, both men and women perform the graphic dance of Hymenaei, the marriage masque staged at the nuptials of Robert Devereux and Frances Howard, whose scandalous divorce later occasioned the suppression of published references to the couple.¹⁰⁶ In this case the linguistic marker of male power is the name of the husband, the representative of marital authority. Yet the male masquers' dance of the name is also a marker of the court's masculine power structures. The dance of Prince Charles' name is the expression of loyalty to a pivotal court figure, though his future status as monarch is as yet unknown.⁴ In the same way, the patterning of the bridegroom's name expresses loyalty to the Earl of Essex, fourteen at the time of his marriage, and expected to wield substantial future political power. Intended to heal the political rift of the thwarted 1601 Essex rebellion, this masque is both a celebration of heterosexual union and a power-play, an expression of political intent.

Both these prominent examples occur in the first decade of the Jacobean court. It is not until 1617, in Cupid's Banishment, a masque staged at Greenwich for Anne by the schoolgirls of the Ladies Hall, Deptford, that an English masque dances a female name. Robert White's masque culminates when twelve nymphs

pace with majesty toward the presence and, after the first strain of the violins, they dance, [forming] Anna Regina in letters; [in] their second masquing dance [forming] Jacobus Rex; [in] their departing dance is [the formation of] Carolus P with many excellent figures falling off, by Master Onslo, tutor to the Ladies Hall.¹⁰⁷

Though the names of Cosimo II and Maria Magdalena are danced by both male and female nobles in the 1611 Florentine Mascherata, the gender delineations of the English performances are more forceful, denoting writing-in-dance as a primarily feminine practice.¹⁰⁸ The Florentine context is useful because it reveals the extent to which a mixed-sex dance differs from a purely male or female performance. Cupid's Banishment's expression of female authority, muted by the dance of the names of the present and future kings, will be the subject of the final chapter of this thesis.

In the dance of the names of the court's power elite, the identification of the author of the physical text is significant. Is the author the choreographer - the dance's inventor - or the masquers whose bodies perform the act of inscription? Jonson claims that the dances were so well performed that they 'left it doubtful whether the forms flowed more perfectly from the author's brain or their feet'.¹⁰⁹ Though perhaps mere flattery, the concealment of the rehearsed nature of the dance's complex figures is part of the code of *sprezzatura*. The suggestion of improvisation disguises both the author's and choreographer's ideological control of the dancing body and the

limitations imposed upon such linguistic expression. Yet Jonson's assertion does ascribe some degree of autonomy to the dancing body, opposing the preserving act of publication to assert the ephemerality of the moment and motion of dance.

Such an undermining of the authorial control of the graphic dance is also manifested within the masque genre. As the perspective of Dorat's engraving demonstrates, the figures of the dance are best seen from above (figure 8). Although the monarch has a raised view, those spectators in the galleries may actually be better placed to read such dance patterns, while the more privileged are disadvantaged in comparison. This inversion is significant in the light of contemporary emphasis upon the hierarchical arrangement of the masquing hall and *salle des fêtes*; disturbing this ordered hierarchy, it destabilises the masque's implicit aims, asserting the involvement of the less privileged sectors of courtly society.

Feminine inscription in the graphic dance is also embodied within the masque transcript, however, as shown in an extract from Blackness;

Call forth thy honored daughters, then,
And let them, 'fore the British men,
Indent the land with those pure traces
They flow with in their native graces.¹¹⁰

Within the masque's poetics, text is created in the traces left by the dancers' feet upon the land, a text aligned with the interpretability of the female dancers' bodies. The floor of the masquing hall represents the soil of an ideal Britain; the discourse of colonisation is here reversed to bring the colonised to the colonisers, complicating the imaginative equation between the female body and land or territory found in the

sexualised images of Renaissance colonial discourse.¹¹¹ What does it mean that these women use their bodies to write on the homeland of the coloniser? In one sense, it demonstrates their conformity to the court's demands of the grace of dance and is another public act of homage to the monarch. Alternatively, the combination of the masquers' subversive blackened faces with feminine access to danced text could constitute an assertion of feminine and colonial independence.

Though danced and linguistic texts are equivalent within the court masque, they are performed independently. In Beauty, for example, the 'time of dancing with the lords [...] to give [the dancers] respite, was intermitted with song [...] After which songs, they danced galliards and corantos' - the linguistics of song and speech are distanced from the motion of dance, a trend present in almost all Jacobean masques.¹¹² The practical explanation that the sound of dancing feet would overpower the speaker or singer does not apply, since there is no such disjunction between linguistic expression and the masque's co-ordinated movement.¹¹³ The song of the Graces in The Vision is performed as the goddesses ascend to the Sibyl's temple, and a song accompanies the triumphal chariot ride of Queens.¹¹⁴ The sole Jacobean exception to this trend is Campion's 1607 Lord Hay's Masque in which the masquers' dance of the golden trees is performed to sung accompaniment. Concern for linguistic audibility led to special arrangements, 'that the words of the song might be heard of all', but their success or failure is not indicated.¹¹⁵ Significantly, this experiment does not seem to be repeated; Campion abandons the conjunction of song and dance in his later masques.¹¹⁶ The disjunction of the sign systems of the dance and the vocal text

implies that dance exists on a different interpretative level than co-ordinated movement.

Linguistic expression occurs in the suspension of the dance, often in the moment of the configuration of those geometric symbols so closely related to text. In Beauty, the masquers, beginning

a most curious dance full of excellent device and change, ended it in the figure of a diamond, and so, standing still, were by the musicians with a second song (sung by a loud tenor) celebrated.¹¹⁷

The dancers are celebrated in song in the immobility of the geometric figure. Static symbols and the bodies of which they consist are more readable than the dancing body in motion. The kinetic principle distances the body from a stable legibility. At all times, however, the creation of bodily significance must operate within the controlling decorum of Jacobean courtly dance and society. The moving body is not dependent upon language, instead it generates significance in complement to that of linguistic expression.

The problematic juxtaposition of dance and language, two disparate communicative sign-systems, within a single performance, continues in the failure of the linguistic documentation of the kinetic. The transcript of Hymenaei gives few details except the masquers' initial ranking and the concluding chain-figure. Dance motion cannot become textual: language can only represent opening and closing immobility and the already textual name. Published dance descriptions and those of contemporary observers are subjective appraisals of the performance's quality and

emotive impact.¹¹⁸ A striking example is found in Beauty, where aesthetic pleasure in the dance alters the masque's structure; the dances are 'so exquisitely performed as the king's majesty, incited first by his own liking [...], required them both again.'¹¹⁹ Given the masque genre's structural dependency on audience reactions, a purely textual analysis is problematic. Dance is predicated on audience interaction; the transcripts privilege this reaction even if, as Jonson's preface to Hymenaei suggests, that audience is less than ideal. While the dancing body has a textual existence in geometric and linguistic symbols, the resistance of dance motion to textual representation demonstrates its essential difference.

The endpoint of the change and motion of the masquers' dance of Beauty is stasis and the linguistic celebration of past, completed movement. The opposition of dance motion and language parallels that of motion and immobility. This dichotomy is pivotal to the masque form, its significance demonstrated in the motif of the illicit suspension of motion. Occurring in the motif of the masquer as female statue in Campion's Lords' Masque (1613) and the Ballet Comique (1581), and as the male statue in Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and the Ballet de Vandosme, each results from the temporary pre-eminence of illegitimate, oppositional forces.¹²⁰ The animation of the female statues in The Lords' Masque signals the renewal of divine favour and precipitates the masquers' dance. Each reanimation releases the performers into dance and allows the confirming action of the revels or *grand bal*.

In both the Balet de Vandosme and Beaumont's Masque, the dancers are animated by the controlling, defining gaze of the monarch, upon which the court masque is itself predicated. Displayed for interpretation in the geometric dance, the immobilised body is the passive site of conflict between oppositional and courtly forces for the appropriation of the significance generated by its static legibility. Immobilising the dancing nymphs of the Ballet Comique in one geometric figure, Circe arrests the courtly generation of significance. In the dancers' release into movement they form alternative figures for the court's interpretation and dance out the court's codes of grace and civility in a physical enactment of their adherence to courtly values. Yet this desired movement resists a stable definition of bodily significance, a resistance which potentially could undermine the court's control of such meaning. The court both demands and must police an expressive form that grants multiple interpretation and rejects textual definition. Textually unrepresentable, the moving body is a space of unstable legibility.

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The relationship between dance and language asserts the textualised legibility of the masquer, pressuring the aristocratic constraint to silent performance. Resisting a stable and authoritative reading in the disjunction of dance and language, the dancing aristocratic body asserts the independence of dance as a systemic means of communication. The unstable interpretability of the dancing body in motion is a source of tension within the masque form; the significance created by the masquers'

dance must be controlled. It is on these terms that the stable interpretation of the significance of static patterned figures gains such importance within the masque dance. The female masquer dances her loyalty to the court through the incorporation of the name, the marker of patriarchal order and authority. This dance reflects the fear of a linguistic female corporeality; the source of feminine language through vocalisation and dance, the female body is also the source of a threatening, destabilising sexuality. The stasis and reification necessary to interpret the female body reaches an extreme in the image of the female statue, yet the appropriation of the woman-as-statue for the creation of significances opposed to the status quo of the court denotes the static female body as a site of conflict and potential opposition. The male dancer too, dances his loyalty to the court hegemony, but his dance is one of political empowerment through the existing structures of courtly favour and advancement. The emergence of the male masque dance as power play becomes increasingly apparent in my examination of the gendering of the eroticised specularity of the male and female masque dance in the following section.

The social dances of the revels: the erotic politics of aristocratic performance.

The specular genre of the court masque is predicated on the display of the performing body and the gaze of the spectator. This section will examine the eroticisation of the gendered courtly dancer - male and female - through the audience's gaze, assessing its dynamics within the political and discursive power structures of the court and of masque performance itself. While the erotic display of the male body in dance is an active means of accessing the court's power structures, that of the female dancer is more ambiguous. The fashioning of the dancing female body as erotic spectacle simultaneously threatens and reasserts the court hegemony; subjected to the defining gaze of audience and monarch, the female dancer performs her loyalty to the king through her conformity to the physical decorum of the court. While my examination of Queens in chapter three demonstrates the potential empowerment of the female masquer through such a bodily specularity, the strategy followed in the incident of Love Restored suggests that the empowering specularity accessed within the dance is one not of oppositional performance, but of the staging of the theatricalised refusal to perform. Yet the masculine textual fantasy of the fetishised female dancer in contemporary literary dance discourse emerges as a compensatory strategy for a less controllable feminine physical actuality which implies the threatening nature of the access of the female masquer to dance.

Masculine erotics: dance as power-play.

The masculine attributes of Elyot's idealised gendered dance are clearly manifested in Jacobean courtly tilts and barriers. Like the masque, these entertainments are displays of masculine power and courtly prowess which fashion the nobleman as an object of erotic attention. The juxtaposition of masque and barriers and the choreographed martial conflict in *Hymenaei* makes the competitive nature of the masculine dance explicit. As part of the chivalric revival surrounding Prince Henry's militaristic Protestant court faction, barriers and tilts eroticise the prince in a martial, chivalric idiom of power which also extends into his masquing. In his engagement with court festivals as vehicles for the propagation of his personal ideology, Henry fashions himself as the idealised prince and the object of performative attention.¹²¹ This eroticised specularity is evident in this description of the dancers of *Oberon* (1611) in

short scarlet hose and white brodequins full of silver spangles coming half way to the calf [...] They entered dancing two ballets intermingled with varied figures and leaps, extremely well done by most of them. [...] then the gallards began, which was something to see and admire.¹²²

Admiration is specular; the spectacle of the revealingly clothed athletic body in motion fashions Henry's body as the object of the spectators' gaze. Predicated on such erotic display, the masque performance is also a demonstration of fitness to rule. Within court entertainments, the dynamics of masculine eroticism and power are inseparable.

The martial erotics of the masque are clearly evident in Inigo Jones's costume design for the Prince as Oberon (figure 11). Defining the body's movement and directing the spectators' eroticising gaze, costume simultaneously expresses and creates the conceptualisation of the body. Henry's costume displays his body; he is depicted in a close-fitting version of classical soldier's dress which clearly defines the musculature of his chest, stomach and legs. This martial quality merges, however, with the erotics of effeminisation; Oberon's attendant has long flowing hair and his face is beardless like that of his master; in addition, he has an exposed abdomen reminiscent of that of many female masquers, and swathes of cloth give his chest a feminine silhouette (figure 12). The eroticisation of Henry encapsulates apparently disparate masculinities in its martial effeminacy.

Contemporary educational manuals regard accomplishment in the dance as an attribute of the ideal warrior-statesman.¹²³ The rebellious male masquers' dance of the humours and affections in Hymenaei concludes with the drawing of swords, Orchesography opens with a description of soldiers marching into battle to the beat of drums; dance expresses masculine courtly martial prowess.¹²⁴ The choreographed battle of the tilt is internalised within the dance; combat is choreographed through the transformation of 'cabrioles and galliardes'.¹²⁵ Masculine dance is predicated on competitive display. Caroso documents a galliard variant in which the capers (stiff-legged kicks performed during high leaps) become a competition to kick a tassel.¹²⁶ Physical prowess and fitness to rule are indicators of erotic attraction; the dynamics of power and sexual attraction are closely intertwined.

While the tilt is an exclusively male forum, the necessary inclusion of female dancers in the masque, at least in the revels, tempers this forceful male display in a parallel of Elyot's image of 'concord'. Arbeau warns the male dancer against boisterous strides, 'as the damsel who is your partner cannot with decency take such long steps'.¹²⁷ Such tempering of the extremity of male dance is also found in Hymenaei; the display of unrestrained masculinity, identified with the emergent antimasque, is calmed by the appearance of Reason. Hymenaei's ideal dance is Elyot's union of the male and female, tempering gendered characteristics to form the Aristotelian mean.

Further evidence of the masculine erotics of the masque dances is found in an incident which took place in the performance of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue (1618). This description of the revels is taken from the report of the Venetian Chaplain Orazio Busino:

[the masquers] did all sorts of ballets and dances of every country, such as passemeasures, corantos, canaries, Spanish dances, and a hundred other beautiful turns to delight the fancy. Finally they danced the Spanish dance once more with their ladies, and because they were tired began to lag; and the King, who is by nature choleric, grew impatient and shouted loudly, 'Why don't they dance? What did they make me come here for? Devil take all of you, dance!' At once the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty's favourite minion, sprang forward, and danced a number of very high and very tiny capers with such grace and lightness that he made everyone admire and love him, and also managed to calm the rage of his angry lord. Inspired by this, the other masquers continued to display their powers one after another, with different ladies, concluding with capers, and lifting their goddesses from the ground. We counted 34 capers in succession cut by one knight, but none matched the splendid technique of the Marquis [...] The King then honoured the Marquis with extraordinary signs of affection, touching his face.¹²⁸

Buckingham's prowess and the public signs of favour lavished on him by James are the expression of the masculine erotics of power, within what Orgel calls the 'play' of the court.¹²⁹ Following the heterosexual model of Sir Christopher Hatton's attainment of political influence in the Elizabethan court, Villiers's dance is simultaneously a public statement of power and a means to gain more.¹³⁰ Taking to the floor in a solo dance, Villiers is the focus of the audience's gaze. With no partner and no need to temper his athleticism, Villiers's dance is an unequivocal display of masculine bodily elegance in strength. Busino highlights the dance's competitive nature; failure to match Villiers's display means loss of favour.

What precisely are the ramifications of this masculine display? Busino's divergence of tastes with the English court aids his identification of the power structures of this display. As James Knowles points out, Villiers wins both his king's favour and that of the audience; making everyone 'admire and love him', his skilful manipulation gains him the court currency of favour. This dance accesses power through erotic specularity. Villiers's achievement is documented in the public marks of affection bestowed upon him by James I. Within the insular social space of the Banqueting House, the servant's solo dance generates intimacy with the gaze of the master upon whom the masque ritual itself is predicated. Though the power play impacts upon the entire court, it does so precisely because of this intimacy between subject and ruler which later extends into public signs of favour. Within the simultaneously public and personal space of state ritual and ceremony, the public caresses of a king exist in an unstable interpretative space.¹³¹ Alan Bray has

demonstrated the problematic interpretation of public displays of affection between men in the early modern period, arguing that such tokens of affection cannot easily be categorised as purely political or sexual but exist within the complex dynamics of male sexuality, friendship and the display of political favour.¹³² James's reaction reveals the eroticism of this specular intimacy. As Orgel points out, Buckingham's display both debases him before James and elevates him before the court in a conscious bid for political favour.¹³³ Through this self-abasing erotic bodily display, Villiers asserts himself in his demonstration of the skill necessary to approach the site of power. Performance at the monarch's whim is the power of puppetry, the control over another's body. The body is displayed for the monarch's interpretation and manipulation; the ruler's power to move the dancing body is the counterpart of his actual power over his subjects. This performance, though strikingly similar to the ideal erotic submission of the female in dance, is one based upon homosocial structures of courtly power.

Villiers's dance has a Biblical counterpart in the dance of David before the Ark of the Covenant.¹³⁴ David's dance of submission before his God is an intensification of that of Villiers before his temporal lord, both in David's royal status and in the heightened display of his semi-naked body. Both, however, are expressions of loyalty in erotic display; both win power through ritual self-abasement. Once again, the discourses of sexuality and power are intimately intertwined. In the outburst and punishment of Michal, this Biblical example also suggests that the dance's remaining audience cannot be entirely excluded from the apparent intimacy between ruler and

favourite. In refusing to condone David's self-abasement, Michal's actions are reminiscent of the Howard sisters' refusal to condone dance through participation. As she watches from a window, Michal's distanced voyeurism focuses attention on the relationship of the spectator's gaze to the performer. Michal's punishment, however, is of the greatest significance. Her sterility is the mark of the rejection of the social order figured in the dance and its re-creation in both sex and play. Feminine exclusion, whether self-imposed or otherwise, is significant in the model of the homosocial dance.

Feminine exclusion from the dance between subject and ruler, temporal or divine, points to the power structures that underlie the exclusively male dance. The example of Christopher Hatton establishes that the erotics of dance are indeed related to the masculine attainment of power; the homosocial structures of Villiers's dance are still more interesting. Contrary to Stubbs' model of the pure same-sex dance, its problematic status is demonstrated in the mockery of the masquers of Love Restored. This is, however, partly due to the bathos of thwarted expectations; accustomed to the heterosexual social dance at the masque's conclusion, the audience instead witness an exclusively male dance which lacks the heightened performative aspect of either the main masque dances or the solo display before the throne. Although invited by the premeditated public female rejection of the male, such mockery also has other causes. One is the apparent incongruity of the application of the model of the social dance and its fundamental component of the heterosexual couple to men of equal rank who are not involved in a bid for power. When same-sex dance is placed within this forum it

disrupts Elyot's model of gender balance and the dance's symbolic resonance as the image of the recreation of the social order. Such a deferral of the revels' social confirmation is unacceptable to both audience and participants.

An interesting dissonance exists between the practice and the literature of the male dance. This is perhaps most vivid in the examples of Tiresias and Caeneus in Orchestra. While Orchestra portrays the ease of passage between the gendering structures of male and female dance, the practice of such a theory is faced with mockery. Few male courtiers would wish to lower their court status by dancing the female role. The lords are perceived not as women, but rather as emasculated men; the literary model cannot gain a practical manifestation. Masculine power is won in dance not through ease of gender-change but through the assertion of prowess and the ideal masculine virtues. This dissonance also demonstrates the necessity of the presence of the female in the equation of the dance; the exclusion of the feminine from the balance of the socially confirming dance is not acceptable to the court. In a sense, therefore, the female holds a position of strength; the withholding of her participation in dance renders it invalid. The theatricality of the act of refusal is empowering. A female statement of political intent within the circulation of court favour, the rejection of the lords of Love Restored is both an indictment of their failure to live up to the eroticised performance of the male dancer's power and status and an act of female political affiliation.

Female eroticism: textuality and actuality.

The erotics of display also operate within the female masquing dance. A comparison of Negri's figures of the social dancers and the costume designs for Queens is revealing (figures 3 and 13). While the basic similarity of the costumes suggests the identification of dancers and audience, the masquers' shorter skirts and visible ankles, a sensible practical measure which facilitates the dance, simultaneously intensify the erotic display of the dancing body. Occasionally attracting the censure of court commentators, the female dancer is defined as erotic spectacle.¹³⁵

The erotic interaction of dancing body and audience gaze has the potential to destabilise the court masque's decorum. This threat is expressed through a strand of criticism of dance which centres on the model of rape. Puritan criticism, and some contemporary drama, most notably The Revenger's Tragedy, depict the court masque as threatening female chastity, 'so pernicious, that divers honourable women have beene ravished and conveyed away by their means'.¹³⁶ The threat of the violation of the passive female is matched, however, by the fear of an active female sexuality stimulated by the eroticism of the dance. Carleton's anecdote of the woman 'surprised at her business on top of the Taras' at the performance of Blackness figures this woman, significantly anonymous, as a sexual instigator, stimulated by the dance.¹³⁷ Just as Stubbs' marker of the dance's immorality is the interaction of male and female, so in Carleton's anecdote the sign of the court's immorality is an active female sexuality within the dangerous interaction of the sexes.

The literary discourse of dance robs the eroticised female dancer of agency, fetishising her and privileging the male author and dancer within a patriarchal idiom. Dance texts developed from educational manuals and are concerned primarily with the training of the courtly male. Arbeau, Copland and the Inns of Court all depict dance from the masculine perspective, describing male dance steps and the ideal behaviour towards the female partner. Indeed, Arbeau's term 'dancer' applies only to the dancing male; he often refers to 'the dancer and his damsel', and his illustration of the *pieds largis oblique* marginalises the female dancer to the extent that she is represented only by a disembodied hand (figure 14).¹³⁸ The mockery that attends the rejected lords of Love Restored shows the unacceptability of female exclusion, the female dancer is a necessary but marginalised presence. Yet this necessary presence is distanced from textual representation in the marginalised corporeality of the female dancer; eloquently expressing the mutilation which distances the feminine from representation, the female dancer is reduced to a bodiless hand at the edge of an illustration.

Caroso's strategy of feminine exclusion is more subtle, acknowledging the female dancer's necessary presence and describing both male and female steps.¹³⁹ Yet, as we have seen, his text outlines strategies for the management of the female dancing body; the female is either excluded or operates under strict limitations.¹⁴⁰ It is significant, however, that these controls are similar to those imposed upon male dancers. Both genders are constrained to prescribed movement and the differences which do arise occur primarily in the distanced textual representation of the gendered

PIEDS LARGIS OBLIQUE DROIT · PIEDS LARGIS OBLIQUE GAUCHE

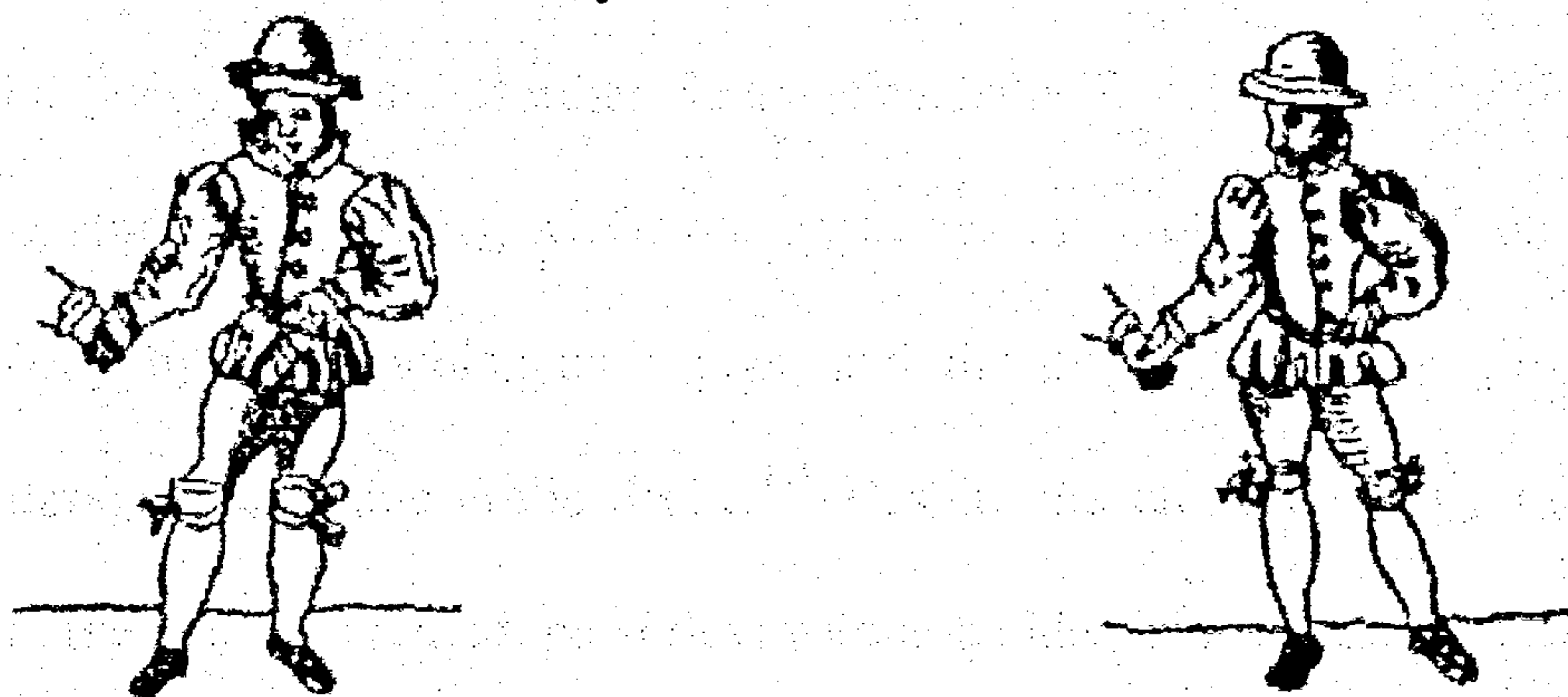


Figure 14.) *Pieds largis oblique droit et gauche*; Arbeau, p.82.

dancing body. This textual marginalisation of the female presence is a dual process; the exclusion of the female also centres the male in both the reader's gaze and the privileged masculine authorial perspective.

The poetry of dance further demonstrates the female dancer's reification. Discussing Ronsard's Sonnets, McGowan identifies the eroticisation of the female dancing body by the watching male poet, and the inspiration it gives to textual creation through masculine erotic desire.¹⁴¹ Despite the creative energy of female movement, the dancer is reified, powerless within the idealising dynamic of the male-authored text. McGowan analyses the generation of poetry by the vision of dance, noting that the poet's emotional response is described in place of the dance itself, echoing the linguistic failure of the masque accounts. As a spectator, Ronsard fetishises the dancing female body.

Drawing on the image of the creative energies of dance (textual, sexual and universal) embodied in the classical model of Hesiod's dance of the Graces and its courtly manifestation in Spenser's Faery Queen, Orchestra embodies the energies of divine creation within the erotic vision of the dancing female body.¹⁴² The forces of sexual desire and poetic inspiration are aligned with the concept of universal creation. The female (Hesiod and Spenser's divine Graces, Ronsard's mortal Hélène de Sugères, and Davies's fictional Penelope) inspires poetic and sexual arousal; the female body is the reified medium for the channelling of celestial energies to the sublunary poet, resulting in the creation of a masculine poetic discourse. The

reification of the female culminates in the poem's climactic vision of the Elizabethan court, revealed by Love to the characters in a mirror. Penelope cannot articulate this vision; she

Fain would have prais'd the state and pulchritude;
But she was stroken dumb with wonder quite.
Yet her sweet mind retain'd her thinking might,
(p.45, stz.122).

The quintessential silenced woman, Penelope's will to speak is denied. The opportunity is instead passed to the divine female, Terpsichore, the victim of 'weak judgement', who also falters.¹⁴³ This series of failed female vocalisations is an admission of linguistic inadequacy in the representation of dance, but also reveals the poem's gendered linguistic dynamics. Finally, in the new Muse Urania, the female is again reduced to the passive inspiration of masculine poetic expression.¹⁴⁴

This model of inspiration, however, itself founders in Orchestra's own failure as a poetic exercise. The unfinished poem never communicates its culminating vision - 'Here are wanting some stanzas describing / Queen Elizabeth'.¹⁴⁵ The failure of male poetic inspiration after the channeling of divine energy through the reified female reveals the nature of this model as a construct of patriarchal linguistic control. The literary representation of the dancing female body demonstrates the masculine textual fantasy of control over the erotic energies of the female dance which the example of Love Restored, enacting the feminine power of withholding, suggests is unattainable in courtly actuality.

The slippage between literary and masquing practice emphasises the tensions caused by the necessary female presence in dance. In practice, the noblewoman cannot be excluded from the social dance, which is a display of courtly decorum and loyalty to the sovereign. The dance is, therefore, the visual marker of the interiorisation of courtly ideology. Yet the Howard sisters' female foray into the political performance of refusal emphasises the political manipulation of the masque by both genders. Yet the gendered nature of Villiers's unique solo dance becomes evident when we consider the likely response to a female dancer who indulged in such an individualistic display of self-fashioning. However, propelling the noblewoman into performance, dance places female participants on a broad level of equality with their male counterparts.

The mockery of the homosexual dance of Love Restored, in contrast to the shifting conception of gender found in Orchestra, highlights the dissonance of the literary and practical model of the gendered dance. To what extent, therefore, does the poetic model of the reified female conform to courtly dance practice? Observers' commentaries do not point to any subversive activity in the dances of either the revels or the main masque; conformity is assumed and any attempt at self-fashioning through the transgression of courtly physical decorum would perhaps only be ascribed to a failure in grace and competency. It seems that noble masquers did not attempt to dance against these courtly codes; the women of Blackness are censured for their blackened faces, yet their dance seems entirely conformist. The most that can be said is that there is no record of any such attempt. Although the potential exists for

oppositional performance within the dance, this is not undertaken by either the male or female courtier. Dance is simultaneously the marker of female acceptance into the courtly power structure and the incorporation of the physical decorum of the patriarchy within the female body. The female opposition of Love Restored is a refusal of the dance itself rather than the staging of opposition within the dance. When the noblewoman does dance it is a necessary act of complicity with the physical decorum of the court, facilitating female performance through the levelling restrictions of the dance.

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Dance is a form of erotic display which subjects both sexes to the imposition of ideological control of the body by the gaze of the spectator. Differences arise, however, in the detail, perception and representation of this sexualised performance. As the scandalous events of Love Restored suggest, women must dance in order to provide a performative confirmation of the court hegemony. Both marginalised and empowered by this necessity, the female dancer dances her conformity. The female dancer's ambiguous status results in the restriction of the actively desiring female gaze by mechanisms of social censure and in the compensatory masculine textual fantasy of the passive woman who, denied the autonomous creation of significance, simply inspires the male poet. Though literary texts are predicated on the dancing female body, where the expression of female desire should be there is only the amused condemnation of court commentators. Female desire is as divorced from

representation as the motion of dance itself. In stark contrast to Buckingham's virile performative spontaneity and energy, Love Restored is the forum for the silent feminine refusal of performance, narrated in the disjointed and damaged sentence of a male observer.

Conclusion.

Dance impels the Renaissance aristocrat, both male and female, into performance. A product of the creation of the courtly identity through the theatricalised display of the noble body, the dance's individual corporeal enactment of court decorum echoes the large scale embodiment of these dictates in the masque genre itself. Governed by the corporeal and behavioural dictates of courtesy, dance is less a performance in itself than an extension of the daily fashioning of a courtly identity through display. Dance is, therefore, also a major contributory factor to the emergence of elite female performance within the court masque; it is only under the necessary enactment of the class-driven codes of courtly bodily decorum that the aristocratic female performer is legitimised within the English Renaissance.

Though it facilitates the empowering specularly of female performance and masquing dance, the gendering of feminine movement, stance and posture in dance is nevertheless restrictive. The female masque dancer is fashioned into the ideal of Elyot's 'mild, timorous' woman. The threatening yet necessary presence of the female body within the dance is reflected in both its literature and practice. While the masculine textual fantasy of female marginalisation transforms the female dancer to a reified fetish, this is paralleled in the masque in the necessary feminine bodily enactment of loyalty to the power structures of the court. Found in individual conformity to the construction of courtly grace and the gendered controls over the detail of female bodily movement, stance, gaze and dance step, such restraints are also

manifest in the feminine bodily incorporation of the marker of patriarchal authority - the name of the king, prince and bridegroom.

Yet the dance of the name also demonstrates the duality of the masque dance, and the potential threat which the presence of the female dancer poses to the corporeal performance of loyalty to the mainstream Jacobean court. Suggesting the relationship between dance and language which is conceptualised throughout the early modern discourse of the dance, this motif also demonstrates the expressive potential of the female masquer's dancing body. The legibility of the textualised female body within the masque genre pushes upon the aristocratic constraint to silence. Though this silence and the dance of the name are applicable to both male and female dancers, its implications are heightened by Renaissance conceptions of femininity. The perceived links between female sexuality and the female voice (both threatening and destabilising) have a shared source in the female body, the locus of textual creation and linguistic expression in the motif of writing-in-dance. Within a form which attempts to constrain the expressivity of the female performer on multiple levels, the creation of a female text constitutes a threatening expressivity. The court both demands and must control the expressivity of the female body in dance. While male writing-in-dance is a form of power-play designed to gain favour and advancement, the noblewoman's embodiment of the patriarch's name - a corporeal statement of loyalty - is an attempt to constrain the linguistic female body's generation of significance. That this attempt occurs within the feminine textual dance demonstrates the duality of such physical restraints - they offer expression within constraint.

Strikingly, writing-in-dance is primarily a female pursuit; all three Jacobean examples involve female dancers, only one involves male courtiers. This frail tradition of the female approach to linguistic expression, complemented by the dynamics of the performance of the female masquing body, is of the greatest importance to the development of female performance. This is especially clear in the performance of White's Cupid's Banishment; the appropriation of the court's attempted control of the significance of the female dance in the feminine dance of the name of Queen Anne herself will form the subject of the final chapter of this thesis. The status of writing-in-dance, the access it grants to female corporeal expressivity, and the tradition of the textual and linguistic female body push upon the restraints of aristocratic masque performances throughout the Jacobean masquing tradition.

The performance of the masculine masquing dance as power-play is at its most explicit in Villiers's solo dance in Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue. In his unique approach to the throne, Villiers highlights the status of the masculine dance as a means of attracting favour through individual bodily abasement to the courtly hierarchy. For the nobleman, dance is a means of the attainment and display of favour; the dancing courtier is the focus of an intense erotic attention which assesses his fitness to wield power. Interestingly, the importance of the dance to the male masquer also increases the significance of its potential female appropriation.

Such an appropriation occurs in the refusal of Love Restored. Ironically, once the dance has granted female access to performance and corporeal expression, the

refusal to perform becomes an empowering statement of female choice. The Howards' 1610 refusal is strongly reminiscent of that enacted by Queen Anne in her London coronation. In each performance the strategy is the same; the women employ the self-imposed stasis of non-participation as a means of undermining the reification of the obligatory performance of the female body. The enforced performance of Anne's Edinburgh coronation, which I shall discuss in the next chapter in relation to The Somerset Masque, is as disempowering as a total exclusion. In a performance genre which prohibits female speech and in which the female body is expected to be given up willingly to the dance, this refusal is particularly eloquent given the gendered formulation of the woman in dance. Yet it should be kept in mind that these women rely on their powerful family status and royal favour for their own security to act in this way. This act of apparent female autonomy is in fact an expression of factional loyalty and status.

In the performance of the courtly female body both the kinesis of the dance and the self-imposed stasis of the refusal to perform are theatrical; each is a performance which fashions the aristocratic body as spectacle. Having discussed the agenda of female masquing dance and the implications of this theatricalised refusal, the next chapter will analyse the dynamics of the empowering specularity of the body when, rather than perform her refusal, the female aristocrat does perform in the masque. Once again, the status of the Howard faction is at issue, this time in the performance of Thomas Campion's Somerset Masque, which will be examined alongside Daniel's Vision and Jonson's Queens. However, Campion's masque

demonstrates the impact not of the female rejection of performance but of enforced female participation. Before this performance, however, there remain those of the female masques of the Jacobean court.

Notes to chapter two.

¹ Sir John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 15 January 1612, in Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. by Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), I, p.328.

² Lindley, Trials, pp.60-1.

³ Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', p.256.

⁴ The debate over the primacy of the component forms of the masque genre is articulated in Stephen Orgel, 'Review of Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Court Masque, ed. by Andrew Sabol', Criticism, a Quarterly for Literature and the Arts, 21 (1979), 362-5 (pp.364-5).

⁵ Ellen W. Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy, 'Introduction: Movement Movements', in Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance, ed. by Ellen W. Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995), pp.1-20.

⁶ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.5.

⁷ Ellen W. Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy, 'Introduction: Movement Movements', in Goellner and Murphy, pp.1-20, p.5.

⁸ Stephen Orgel, 'Review', pp.364-5.

⁹ Jones documents the only extant choreographies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century performative dance, that is 'dance designed specifically for spectacles'. They are Cavalieri's *O che nuovo miracolo* from the 1589 Florentine intermedii, in Musique des intermedes de 'La pellegrina', ed. D.P. Walker (Paris, 1963); a horse ballet, the *Ballo de'Venti* (Florence, 1608); and four dances in Negri, *Il Pastor leggiadro* (1594), the *Brando detto Alta Regina* (1598) and the two torch dances, *Austria felice (Ballo fatto da sei dame)* and *Ballo fatto da sei cavalieri*, pp.14-16, 270-76. Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan: Cesare Negri's torch dances', Early Music, 14 (1986), 182-96.

¹⁰ Cesare Negri, Le Gratie d'Amore: A Facsimile of the Milan 1602 Edition (New York: Broude Brothers Ltd, 1969); Fabritio Caroso, Nobiltà di Dame, trans. by Julia Sutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, trans. by Mary Stewart Evans with notes by Julia Sutton (New York: Dover Publications, 1967); Robert Coplande, The Maner of Bace Daunsing, in Frederick Crane (ed.), Materials for the Study of the Basse Dance (New York:1968); Bodleian

Library, MS Rawl. Poet. 108, fols. 10-11; MS Rawl. d.864. fol.199, Elias Ashmole, c.1630; MS Douce 280, John Ramsay.

¹¹ John M. Ward accounts for the multiple significances of the terms *measure* in contemporary discourse and analyses the dance itself: John M. Ward, 'The English Measure', Early Music, 14 (1986), 15-21.

¹² Masques which specify the galliard and coranto include Blackness, Beauty, Hymenaei, Queens, Oberon and The Golden Age Restored.

¹³ Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan', p.184. Mark Franko cautions, however, that the certainty that performative dance choreographies were lifted directly from those of the social dance is becoming 'increasingly questionable'; Franko, The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, 1986), p.2.

¹⁴ Franko, The Dancing Body; Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan'; Susan Foster, Reading Dancing: Bodies and Subjects in Contemporary American Dance (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp.99-120.

¹⁵ Judy Smith and Ian Gatiss, 'What Did Prince Henry Do with his Feet on Sunday 19 August 1604?', Early Music, 1986 (2), 198-207 (p. 201).

¹⁶ Mabel Dolmetsch, Dances of England and France 1450-1600 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), p.49.

¹⁷ Sutton, 'Introduction', in Caroso, p.29.

¹⁸ Sir Robert Dallington reveals that in the English court 'the French fashion of dancing is most in request'; Dallington, Method for Travel, in W.B. Rye, England as Seen By Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James the First (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), p.xxiii.

¹⁹ Frances A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, (London: Routledge, 1988), p.252.

²⁰ Judy Smith and Ian Gatiss, 'What Did Prince Henry Do with his feet?', p.201, pp.204-7. Arbeau was a non-courtly cleric writing in the French provinces. In addition, although they are contradicted by Alan Brissenden who baldly states that a copy was in Bodley's library in the seventeenth century, Smith and Gatiss find no evidence that Arbeau was published in Britain or available to the Elizabethan or Jacobean court, asserting that an examination of James's Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae ... Thomas Bodleius ... fails to confirm Brissenden's findings. My own research confirms this, there being no mention of Orchesography in The First Printed Catalogue of the Bodleian Library 1605: A Facsimile (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). Arbeau, however, remains a useful source if used with appropriate caution. Judy Smith and Ian Gatiss, 'What Did Prince Henry Do with his feet?', pp.201-2; Caroso's Il Ballarino was updated slightly to form his second published book, Nobiltà di Dame; the basic structure and dance information is consistent between the two texts.

²¹ Judith Lynne Hanna, The Performer-Audience Connection: Emotion to Metaphor in Dance and Society (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1983); To Dance is Human: A Theory of Non-verbal Communication (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Christy Adair, Women and Dance: Sylphs and Sirens (London: Macmillan, 1992); Ted Polhemus, 'Dance, Gender and Culture', in Dance, Gender and Culture, ed. by Helen Thomas (London: Macmillan, 1993), pp.3-15.

²² Erasmus, De civilitate morum puerilium (On Good Manners for Boys), trans. by Brian McGregor in, The Collected Works of Erasmus, ed. by J.K. Sowards (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp.269-89, p.274.

²³ Dudley Carleton to Sir Ralph Winwood, in Herford and Simpson, X, p.448.

²⁴ Herford and Simpson, X, p.498.

²⁵ Orgel and Strong, I, pp.115-20.

²⁶ John Ramsay, MS Douce 280.

²⁷ Arbeau, pp.120-22.

²⁸ Juan Fernandez de Velasco, Relacion de la Iornada del Excmo Condestable de Castilla (1604, Antwerp), trans. in Rye, pp.117-24.

²⁹ McGowan, 'Le corps dansant: source d'inspiration esthétique', in Le Corps à la Renaissance, ed. by Jean Cèard, Marie Madeleine Fontaine and Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: Amateurs de Livres, 1987), pp.229-41, p.237.

³⁰ The most obvious source for this assertion is Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. by George Bull (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967); Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book Named the Governor, ed. by S.E. Lehmberg (London: Everyman, 1962), XXII-XXV. In direct contrast to Elyot, the French theoretician Lambert Daneau refers to dance as the marker of the dancer's loss of prudence; Daneau, Traité des Danses (Lyon: Jean Beraud, 1579); cited in Mark Franko, 'Renaissance Conduct Literature and the Basse Danse', p.59.

³¹ Philip Stubbs, The Anatomy of Abuses (1583), ed. by Peter Davison (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1972), no page numbers.

³² Margaret McGowan, L'Art du Ballet de Cour en France 1581-1643 (Paris: CNRS, 1963); Andrew J. Sabol, Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Court Masque (Providence: Brown University Press, 1978), pp.7-8; Dolmetsch, pp.66-68.

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Under that spangled sky five wand'ring flames,
Besides the king of day and queen of night,
Are wheel'd round, all in their sundry frames,
And all in sundry measures do delight,
Yet altogether keep no measure right;
For by itself each doth itself advance
And by itself each doth a galliard dance.

Davies, p.24, stanza 37.

³⁴ Franko, The Dancing Body, p.9.

³⁵ De Meuil, cited in Franko, The Dancing Body, p.33.

³⁶ Franko, The Dancing Body, pp.25-41, p.47. The use of courtesy manuals must take into account the methodological instabilities of the application of text to bodily movement, and what Franko describes as the potentially utopian nature of dance treatises; Franko, The Dancing Body, p.7.

³⁷ Samuel Daniel, The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, ed. by Joan Rees, in A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll, ed. by T.J.B. Spencer & Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp.17-42.

³⁸ La Boderie's remark made about the Masque of Queens reveals the forethought that went into the taking out. After noting that Prince Charles took his daughter out to dance, he states that

La Reine avoit délibéré d'en faire le même de moi, mais comme c'est un métier auquel je n'entens guère [...] je la fis prier des le matin par une Dame de mes amies qui devoit danser avec elle, de ne m'y point obliger.

Herford & Simpson, X, p.498.

³⁹ Should she not wish to dance, the lady must remain outside the dance-hall or keep her head covered 'since it is not permissible to refuse an invitation from anyone who invites her to dance, for that is quite ill-bred'; Caroso, p.150.

⁴⁰ Caroso, p.150.

⁴¹ Caroso describes feminine refusal as 'an affront that sometimes results in the ball coming to an end with little satisfaction to anyone'; Caroso, p.149.

⁴² Franko states that what the Renaissance termed grace is in fact theatricality; Franko, 'Renaissance Conduct Literature and the Basse Danse: The Kinesis of *Bonne Grace*', in Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, ed. by Richard C. Trexler (Binghampton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), pp.55-66, p.55.

⁴³ Caroso, p.98.

⁴⁴ Elyot, pp.79-80.

⁴⁵ Franko, The Dancing Body, p.37.

⁴⁶ Elyot, I, pp.77-8. For further details of the conceptualisation of gender in the early modern period and its connection with theories of conception and the humours, see Ian Mclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Marina Warner, Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985).

⁴⁷ Elyot, XXI, p.77.

⁴⁸ Caroso, pp.266-69.

⁴⁹ Arbeau, p.86.

⁵⁰ Caroso, p.163.

⁵¹ Caroso, p.163.

⁵² Ramsay, MS Douce 280.

⁵³ Davies, p.42, stanza 112.

⁵⁴ Franko states that the eyes are the privileged locus of the body; Franko, The Dancing Body, pp.44.

⁵⁵ Arbeau, p.55.

⁵⁶ Arbeau, p.59.

⁵⁷ Caroso, p.144.

⁵⁸ Davies, p.27, stanza 50, p.27, stanza 52, p.24, stanza 39 respectively; R.J. Manning, 'Rule and Order Strange: A Reading of Sir John Davies' Orchestra', English Literary Renaissance, 15 (1985), 175-94.

⁵⁹ Davies, p.35, stanzas 82 & 83.

⁶⁰ The concept of the Renaissance hierarchy of the arts is discussed by Leonard Barkan, ““Living Sculptures”: Ovid, Michelangelo and The Winter’s Tale”, English Literary History, 48 (1981), 639-67.

⁶¹ Although the antimasque can be detected in embryonic form in the dual structure of the Masque of Blackness (1605) and the Masque of Beauty (1608), it finds its first explicit manifestation in Jonson's Haddington Masque (1608); Orgel, Complete Masques; pp.47-60, pp.61-74, pp.107-21, pp.122-41.

⁶² Orgel, Complete Masques, p.123, 21, p.134, 327-332.

⁶³ Critical opinion varies as to the significance of the conceit: Maurer suggests that the witches are a reminder of the actual failings of the court ladies and a performative upstaging of their appearance; Margaret Maurer, ‘Reading Ben Jonson’s Queens’, pp.242-43.

⁶⁴ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.125, 87-8.

⁶⁵ Oberon the Faery Prince: a masque of Prince Henries, 1611, by Ben Jonson. Dir. Barrie Rutter. Case Western Reserve University Department of Music. 1993, transforms the dance of the satyrs into a pantomimic display of inadequate dancing; the dancers were, or pretended to be, incapable of the necessary athleticism;

⁶⁶ Sutton states that the hands do not normally assume this position and cites only two exceptions, both of which involve the raising of the arms to allow other dancers to pass underneath. Sutton, ‘Introduction’, in Caroso, p.25. The exceptions she cites are found in Negri, *La Catena d'Amore* and Caroso, *Chiaranzana (Il Ballarino)*.

⁶⁷ See Caroso’s account of the *grave broken sequence* in the *tordiglione*: ‘Whoever does this should hold his body erect at all times, and this holds true for the gentleman and for the lady with whom he dances’; Caroso, p.106.

⁶⁸ Caroso, p.107.

⁶⁹ Franko cites Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, p.68;

Do you not realise that what you are calling nonchalance [...] is in fact affectation, since he evidently goes to great pains to show that he is not thinking about what he is doing? He is really taking too much thought.

Franko, The Dancing Body, p.54.

⁷⁰ Caroso, p.98.

⁷¹ Cited in Franko, The Dancing Body, pp.45-6, from Claude de Calviac, La civile honestete pour les enfants avec la maniere d’apprendre a bien lire ... (Paris: 1560).

⁷² Cited in Mark Franko, Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.56.

⁷³ Pamela Jones, ‘Spectacle in Milan’, p.185.

⁷⁴ Francis Beaumont, The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn, ed. by Philip Edwards, in Spencer and Wells, pp.125-47.

⁷⁵ Franko, Dance as Text, pp.21-6.

⁷⁶ Jones's choreographic reconstruction of Negri's torch dances (one male and one female) shows the dancers lined up behind one another but not back to back; Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan', p.191, figure 5.

⁷⁷ Stubbs, The Anatomy of Abuses, 1583. The model of the homosocial dance will be examined in detail below.

⁷⁸ The notion of early modern female community is analysed by Warner, and Dorothea Kehler, 'Shakespeare's Emilius and the Politics of Celibacy', in Another Country: Feminist Perspectives on Renaissance Drama, ed. by Dorothea Kehler and Susan Baker (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1991), pp.157-80. Louis Adrian Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', in Representing the Renaissance, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt (London: University of California Press, 1988), pp.31-64.

⁷⁹ Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', p.249.

⁸⁰ Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', p.245.

⁸¹ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.70, 221-2.

⁸² Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan', p.186.

⁸³ This occurred initially in the 1595 Masque of Proteus and with greater effect in 1605, when Jones brought the raised stage to the Masque of Blackness.

⁸⁴ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.5; Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.11-12.

⁸⁵ This process of theatricalisation can also be seen in male performance in the role of the fencing master played by the Earl of Buckingham in an unknown masque of 1626, the year of Henrietta Maria's English acting debut in Racan's Artenice. Unknown Masque, Orgel and Strong, November 24th 1626, I, p.389. Analysis of Henrietta Maria's contribution to the development of female performance can be found in Sophie Tomlinson, 'She that Plays the King: Henrietta Maria and the Threat of the Actress in Caroline Culture', in The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp.189-207; "'My Brain the Stage": Margaret Cavendish and the Fantasy of Female Performance', in Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760, ed. by Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp.134-63; Julie Sanders, "'The Day's Sports Devised in the Inn": Jonson's The New Inn and Theatrical Politics', The Modern Language Review, 91 (1996), 545-60.

⁸⁶ Hymenaei, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.86, 279-85.

⁸⁷ Hymenaei, in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.75-6, 1-31.

⁸⁸ Blackness, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.47, 7.

⁸⁹ Montaigne, Apology for Raymond Sebond, in The Complete Essays of Montaigne, trans. by Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p.332.

⁹⁰ Elyot, p.72.

⁹¹ Arbeau, p.84.

⁹² Davies, p.32, stanza 69.

⁹³ Caroso, pp.129-31, p.244.

⁹⁴ Davies, p.21, stanza 25.

⁹⁵ Davies, p.25, stanza 44.

⁹⁶ Arbeau, p.16.

⁹⁷ Franko argues the similarity of the posture and stance of the performers of dance and of oration, both of which are based on the codes of social interaction and courtesy; Franko, The Dancing Body, pp.14-17.

⁹⁸ Erasmus, p.286, p.87.

⁹⁹ For analysis and documentation of the geometric dance, see Franko, Dance as Text, pp.15-31, and McGowan, L'Art du Ballet de Cour, pp.36-37.

¹⁰⁰ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.86, 286.

¹⁰¹ Franko, Dance as Text, pp.15-31.

¹⁰² Ballet de Monseigneur le Duc de Vandosme, in Paul Lacroix, Ballets et Mascarades de Cour de Henri II à Louis XIV (Genève: Chez J. Gay et fils, 1868), I, pp.229-69, p.265.

¹⁰³ Francis Bacon, 'Of Masques and Triumphs', in Essays (London: Everyman, J.M. Dent, 1994), pp.99-100, p.99.

¹⁰⁴ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.140, 507.

¹⁰⁵ Daniel, The Vision, in Spencer and Wells, p.32, 262-65.

¹⁰⁶ Lindley, Trials provides an insightful and sensitive analysis of the divorce, its aftermath and the Overbury murder trial.

¹⁰⁷ Robert White, Cupid's Banishment, in Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents, ed. by S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp.76-90, p.88.

¹⁰⁸ A.M. Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici 1539-1637 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), p.117.

¹⁰⁹ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.86, 281-3.

¹¹⁰ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.56, 228-31.

¹¹¹ As in the visit of the South American Indians to the French court described in Montaigne's De Cannibales, in The Complete Essays, pp.150-58. Sir Walter Raleigh refers to 'the Maydenhead of Peru'; The Discoverie of Guiana (New York: Argonaut Press, 1971), p.9. For the identification of the female body with land and territory, see Stallybrass, 'The Patriarchal Body Enclosed'; Louis Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', in New World Encounters, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt (Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), pp.177-217; Louis Montrose, 'Shaping Fantasies'.

¹¹² Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.72-3, pp.276-77, p.303. This is adhered to in the work of Daniel, Chapman, Beaumont and in all but one of Campion's masques.

¹¹³ Although music normally accompanies dance, it is not included in Hanna's definition of the dance; Hanna, To Dance is Human, pp.3-5. Trumbull's account of Oberon mentions that 'The new hall of the palace was furnished as usual with [...] a green carpet on the floor', which might deaden the sound of

the dancers' feet, further negating a practical explanation for this disjunction; Orgel and Strong, I, p.206.

¹¹⁴ Daniel, The Vision, in Spencer and Wells, p.35; Orgel, Complete Masques, p.139, 478-87.

¹¹⁵ Orgel and Strong, I, p.118, 295-302.

¹¹⁶ Such a conjunction does not reappear in either The Lords' Masque or the Somerset Masque; Campion, The Somerset Masque, in The Works of Thomas Campion, ed. by Walter R. Davies (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), pp.263-84.

¹¹⁷ Orgel, Complete Masques, p. 71, 261-63.

¹¹⁸ See the analysis of Orazio Busino's description of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, and that referred to in the opening section of the 1604 entertainment of the Constable of Castile.

¹¹⁹ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.72, 274-76.

¹²⁰ The noblewomen of The Lords' Masque are immobilised by Jove in an enactment of the Promethean myth; Campion, The Lords' Masque, ed. by I.A. Shapiro, in Spencer and Wells, pp.95-123. The oppositional shape-changing power of Circe threatens the patriarchal status quo in the Ballet Comique; Balthasar Beaujoyeulx, Le Ballet Comique de la Reine (1581), ed. by Margaret McGowan (Binghampton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985). The true nature of the immobilised knights is revealed to the court in Beaumont's Masque when the veils fall from their faces; Francis Beaumont, The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, ed. by Philip Edwards, in Spencer and Wells, pp.125-47.

¹²¹ Strong, Henry, Prince of Wales, pp.138-83.

¹²² William Trumbull; Orgel and Strong, I, p.206.

¹²³ Elyot discusses dance as part of the prince's attributes, listing it alongside hunting, hawking and archery; Elyot, p.88, p.91.

¹²⁴ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.79, 98-104. The dress code of the social dance demands that the sword be worn throughout - it is removed only for the vigorous galliard; Sutton, p.117.

¹²⁵ Franko The Dancing Body, p.3.

¹²⁶ Caroso, p.119.

¹²⁷ This occurs in a description of the basse dance; Arbeau, p.55.

¹²⁸ Translated in Orgel and Strong, I, p.283. I am indebted to James Knowles, whose work on this performance parallels my own independent research; James Knowles, 'Toys and Boys: the (Homo)erotics of the Jacobean Masque'; conference paper, Disputing Manliness in Early Modern Britain, Birkbeck College, University of London, 10 July 1997.

¹²⁹ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.1.

¹³⁰ Naunton accused Hatton of entering the court 'by the galliard'; Paul Johnson, Elizabeth I: a Study in Power and Intellect (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), p.214.

¹³¹ Palme analyses the relationship between the Banqueting House and Whitehall Palace; Palme, pp.113-4.

¹³² Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', 1-19.

¹³³ Stephen Orgel, 'To Please the King', Times Literary Supplement, 4 February 1994.

¹³⁴ 2 Samuel:12-23.

¹³⁵ Carleton attacks the appearance of Anne as Pallas in The Vision for the short length of her skirt; Dudley Carleton to Sir John Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, in Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters, ed. by Maurice Lee Jr. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), p.55.

¹³⁶ Thomas Beard, The Theatre of God's Judgement (London: 1612), cited in Lindley, Trials, p.58; the rape of Antonio's wife takes place at a masque; Thomas Middleton (Cyril Tourneur), The Revenger's Tragedy, ed. by Reginald A. Foakes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), Revels student edition.

¹³⁷ Dudley Carleton to Chamberlain, Herford & Simpson, X, p.449.

¹³⁸ Arbeau, p.80.

¹³⁹ This is perhaps the extension of Caroso's practical involvement as court dance-master to both noble men and women. Sutton gives a brief account of Caroso's life and career; Sutton, 'Introduction', in Caroso, pp.13-19.

¹⁴⁰ Caroso lays out rules for, among other things, silent walking in chopines, the decorous way to sit down on a chair and for the manner in which the eyes should be held in dance; Caroso, pp.140-50.

¹⁴¹ Margaret McGowan, 'Le corps dansant; source d'inspiration esthetique', in Cèard, Fontaine and Margolin (Paris: Amateurs de Livres, 1987), pp.229-41. Her analysis is based on a reading of the sonnet, 'Le soir qu'Amour vous fist en la salle decendre..,' XLVIII, Sonnets pour Hélène, Livre II, in Ronsard, Oeuvres, ed. by Isidore Silver (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

¹⁴² Edmund Spenser, The Faery Queen, ed. by A.C. Hamilton (New York: Longman, 1977), Book VI, canto x, stanzas 11-28, pp.690-93. For discussion of the complexity of Spenser's imagery see Leonard Barkan, Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body as Image of the World (London: Yale University Press, 1975); Patrick Cheney and P.J. Klemp, 'Spenser's Dance of the Graces and the Ptolemaic Universe', Studia Neophilologica: A Journal of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literature, 56 (1984), 27-33. Hesiod, Theogony, in The Poems of Hesiod, trans. by R.M. Frazer (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), pp.23-8, 1-115.

¹⁴³ Davies, p.46, stanza 125.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, p.46, stanza 127.

¹⁴⁵ Davies, p.47.

Chapter Three. 'Spectacles of strangeness': the performance of the female body in the major Jacobean masques.

Following my discussion of the masquing dance, this chapter will examine the changing dynamics of the staging of the female body through the masque career of Anne of Denmark. The masques analysed cover a decade of the Queen's English court; Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses was danced at Hampton Court in 1604, Jonson's Masque of Queens, regarded by many critics as the 'apotheosis of queenship', in the second Whitehall Banqueting House in 1609 and Campion's Somerset Masque in the same arena in 1613.¹ I will focus upon the performance of the female body, which can be summarised as the display of the gendered courtly decorum of the body in masque performance. Such performance is profoundly affected by the material concerns of theatrical space, scenic design and costume; the emergent practice of courtly female performance presents the gendered aristocratic body within physical constraints which contribute to an understanding of the gender dynamics of the court masque and its creating society. These dynamics and the relationship of the female body to the physical text of the court masque are the subject of this analysis.

This chapter will discuss the relationship of the expressive female body to language, stage architecture, spectacle and the discourse of courtly magnificence in The Vision and Queens. Female performance is enacted within restrictions imposed by the masque genre's performance conditions and the sheer novelty of the legitimate

performance of the female body; my aim is to uncover the impact of female performance upon the genre of the masque, how it is affected by and in turn affects the female performative presence. To this end, I will examine the different scenic strategies of Daniel's Tudor-style masque and of Jones's staging in Queens, comparing the impact of dispersed scenery and of innovative centralised perspective scenery upon the audience's relationship to the spectacle of the performing female body to assess these varied Jacobean visions of the female performer.

My analysis offers an overview of the tensions surrounding the performing female body within a culture accustomed to male transvestite performance. Such anxieties manifest in an intense focus on the physicality of the performing female body within these masques. Yet this is itself empowering; allowing the female masquer access to the theatrical display of grace and so to the courtly currency of favour, the female body is created as spectacle for the gaze of the court. However this specularity is problematised by the transgressive nature of the masquing female body. My analysis of Anne's performance of Pallas in The Vision and of the amazonian masquers in Queens will demonstrate the nature of transgressive female performance, and its relationship to previous masques of Anne's English court. Throughout my discussion, I refer to Jonson's Blackness and Beauty. However, since I have interpreted their performance of the gendered aristocratic body and the relationship of that body to linguistic expression in detail elsewhere, I shall simply refer to my conclusions.²

My analysis then expands into a consideration of Campion's Somerset Masque. Previously analysed by critics for its engagement with the problematics of courtly panegyric, my reading will instead focus upon the dynamics of its performance. The Somerset Masque has not yet been interpreted in terms of its intertextualities with many of Anne's previous masques, for the unprecedented nature of her enforced performance and for the ramifications of such coercion for the ongoing development of female masquing itself. I trace the attitudes towards female performance which this entertainment embodies, assessing the implications for its survival within the Jacobean court's second decade. Somerset is a striking reworking of Anne's earlier oppositional performances within the context of her political failure and performative marginalisation. Manipulating the memory of Jacobean courtly ritual, Somerset both creates and discredits the tradition of female masquing within a climate of female exclusion. My analysis places Somerset in the context of the emergent tradition of Jacobean courtly female performance, tracing a line through the development of female court performance to the 1617 masque Cupid's Banishment.

‘The best-built temples of beauty and honour’: The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses and the female body in Hampton Court Great Hall.

While the court sheltered from an outbreak of plague in London, Samuel Daniel’s Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, the first full masque of the English Stuart court for which a transcript survives, was danced at Hampton Court for Christmas 1603-4. Carleton wrote to Chamberlain that ‘We shall have a merry Christmas at Hampton Court, for both male and female masks are all ready bespoken, whereof the Duke [of Lennox] is *rector chori* of th’one side and the La: Bedford of the other’ - a degree of the Jacobean court’s duality is evident from the outset.³ The involvement of Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, is significant, since, as Daniel acknowledges in his dedicatory letter to the Countess, it is she who obtained Daniel the masque commission (p.30, 191-3).⁴ Prominent at the initiation of her new queen’s performance career, Russell maintained a high-profile relationship with both Anne of Denmark and performance throughout her court life.

In 1604, however, Russell secured the commission of the first of Queen Anne’s English masques for Daniel, a writer previously patronised by Elizabeth I and a poet of the former Pembroke circle which regrouped around Anne.⁵ Though Daniel was to write only one masque more for Anne, Tethys’ Festival in 1610, their association continued throughout their respective careers. In February 1604 Daniel was appointed licenser for the Children of the Queens Revels, the company of boy players patronised

by Anne and which staged plays openly critical of James I. The scandalous production of Eastward Ho! in 1605 and Daniel's own entanglement in the Philotas controversy lost the company Anne's patronage. Yet Daniel's relationship with Anne continued. In 1605 his 'Pastorall Trage-comedie', The Queenes Arcadia, was presented to the queen at Christ Church, Oxford; from 1607 he was Groom of Anne's Privy Chamber; by 1613 he was Gentleman Extraordinary and in 1615, he secured his brother a patent for the Children of the Queen's Chamber of Bristol. At his death in 1619 he was compiling a prose history of England under Anne's patronage, a significant product of female literary engagement which mirrors the commissions of Anne's mother.⁶ Daniel's career is evidence of Anne's extensive cultural engagement beyond the Jonsonian masque and of her involvement with the London theatre companies.

My analysis of Anne's performative engagement demonstrates her exploitation of the political capital of state occasion. Carleton's description of The Vision and the ambassadorial melée for precedence reveals that the Queen's Twelfth Night masque had pride of place.⁷ Although critical assessment is influenced by the chance nature of textual survival, it is significant that Anne's first masque should initiate the masquing life of the English Stuart court; The Vision establishes a pattern of controversial female performance for the remainder of Anne's career. The Vision, a negotiation of female power within the hegemony of the Stuart court, is the coveted Twelfth Night performance of that court's inaugural festivities.

Analysis of The Vision has tended to focus on its affiliations to Tudor court entertainments, contrasting it unfavourably with the future innovations of the Jones/Jonson partnership:

Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses at Hampton Court on 8 January 1604 was structureless and old-fashioned. The action was dispersed between a Cave of Sleep at the upper end of the hall, a Temple of Peace near by it, and a mountain at the lower end, from which the masquers descended.⁸

Though it is important to avoid this Jonsonian bias, both this dispersed scenery and the performance of the masque in the Tudor Great Hall at Hampton Court point unmistakably to its affiliations with the past. The masque's conceit utilises these dispersed scenic items; the figures of Night and Sleep appear to witness the goddess-masquers descend from the raised mount, process through the hall to present gifts to a Sibyl, dance the measures and revels with audience members and return to their divine mountain. The Vision is one of only two major Jacobean masques to be performed outside Whitehall Palace, the other being White's Cupid's Banishment, performed near the end of Anne's reign in 1617.

James I's commitment to the masque form came in 1606 when he ordered the Whitehall Banqueting House rebuilt in stone; before that date Stuart masques were mainly performed in the semi-permanent 1581 Banqueting House.⁹ For the inaugural Jacobean festival, however, the court performs within a structure which predates both the Stuart and Elizabethan reigns. Built for Henry VIII in 1532-4, just after the Eltham Ordinances of 1526 which restricted the keeping of hall to six select royal residences, the Great Hall is a remnant of feudal practice. Remaining largely unaltered in the years after its construction, the striking gilded oak and blue panelled hammerbeam

roof of the heavily decorated Great Hall was the elaborate backdrop for the prominent display of the arms, emblems and initials of Henry VIII.¹⁰ Plague forces The Vision into an allusive dialogue with the tradition of English royal power; the inaugural masque of the new Stuart court, signalling the transition from Elizabethan to Jacobean rule, is danced in a Henrician context. Daniel's masque is a validation of the incoming Stuart rulers' negotiations of English monarchical authority and its existing structures of power, both physical and conceptual. The Great Hall's ties to medieval feudalism represent a continuity of specifically English experience appropriated by the Stuart courts as markers of dynastic continuity.

The distinctions between the social and performance spaces of the first Whitehall Banqueting House and the Great Hall are significant. Stemming from a tradition of spaces designed for a specifically social and communal purpose - the gathering of the court for meals and sleep - the Henrician Great Hall is a precursor of the purpose-built performance spaces of Stuart court ritual, the series of Whitehall Banqueting Houses.¹¹ Built over wine cellars, these buildings all serve the dual function of communal entertainment and dining. While the Henrician Hall was the communal dining room for the 'lower members of the Court', in the later constructions, this function has become stylised; masque banquets are not held in the Banqueting Houses themselves and those ceremonial meals which are held there, such as those for St. George's Day, are infrequent.¹² All these spaces repeat the symbolic distinction between the upper and lower hall, achieved through the raised dais and increased illumination.¹³ Yet the most consistent quality of these constructions is their theatricality, they exist as performance spaces for courtly ritual.

Thurley notes that the Great Hall was consistently used for entertainments ‘as it alone of the components of the house provided sufficient space, its gallery a place for minstrels and the dais a viewing point for the King’. He also points out that the hall was converted into a theatre in the 1620s and that the great hall in Whitehall Palace itself became a permanent theatre in 1665.¹⁴ Despite these intertextualities, however, the coexistence in Whitehall Palace of great hall and Banqueting Houses demonstrates their distinct imaginative status. Though they cannot be categorised as theatres, the 1581 Banqueting House and its successors are purpose-built performance spaces, avant-garde in comparison with the outdated 1532 Great Hall.

This section will discuss the siting of Jacobean performance in the Great Hall, analysing its impact upon the performance of the gendered body in The Vision and the pivotal position of this masque in the transition between Elizabethan and Jacobean courts. It is significant that the masque performed within this Henrician context does not negotiate the discourses of masculine power, but, sited between the patriarchs James I and Henry VIII, calls on the memory of Elizabeth I to assert feminine community and authority. The chance selection of Hampton Court as a performance venue creates a meaningful context for the performance of the negotiation of female authority at the inception of Jacobean courtly festivals.

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The dynamics of the performance of the female body within the Great Hall’s Henrician feudalism are distinct from those of later masques within the purpose-built

Whitehall Banqueting Houses. As the plan of the Great Hall shows (figure 15), it is a large rectangular room, at the lower end of which is an oaken screen with two openings.¹⁵ On the wall above the screen is a gallery, often used to accommodate musicians. On this occasion, however, the music was positioned to the side of the hall in full view of the audience.¹⁶ So it would seem that the masquers perform within a hall which does not differ markedly from the later Whitehall Banqueting Houses. Yet the configurative differences that do exist have a substantial impact upon the dynamics of the performing female body within these spaces, altering the relationship between that body and the audience's interpretative gaze.

The substantial difference between the Great Hall and the Whitehall Banqueting Houses lies in the constructed relationship between audience and masquers, primarily caused by the different use and arrangement of gallery space. The Banqueting Houses were galleried on three sides, splitting the audience to allow one section - the less privileged - an elevated view of the action.¹⁷ In contrast, the Great Hall has only one gallery, not used for audience seating. The impact of this is both to unify the audience and to restrict its viewpoint. With the musicians brought down from the gallery, the vertical axis is exploited only by the masquers as they emerge from the summit of the mount to descend to the lower world of the court. Though the tiered seating at either side of the Great Hall is raised, it does not afford the gallery's elevated perspective down onto the action of the dancing floor; the audience's eyeline is restricted to the horizontal plane, gazing across the communal space of the dance floor.

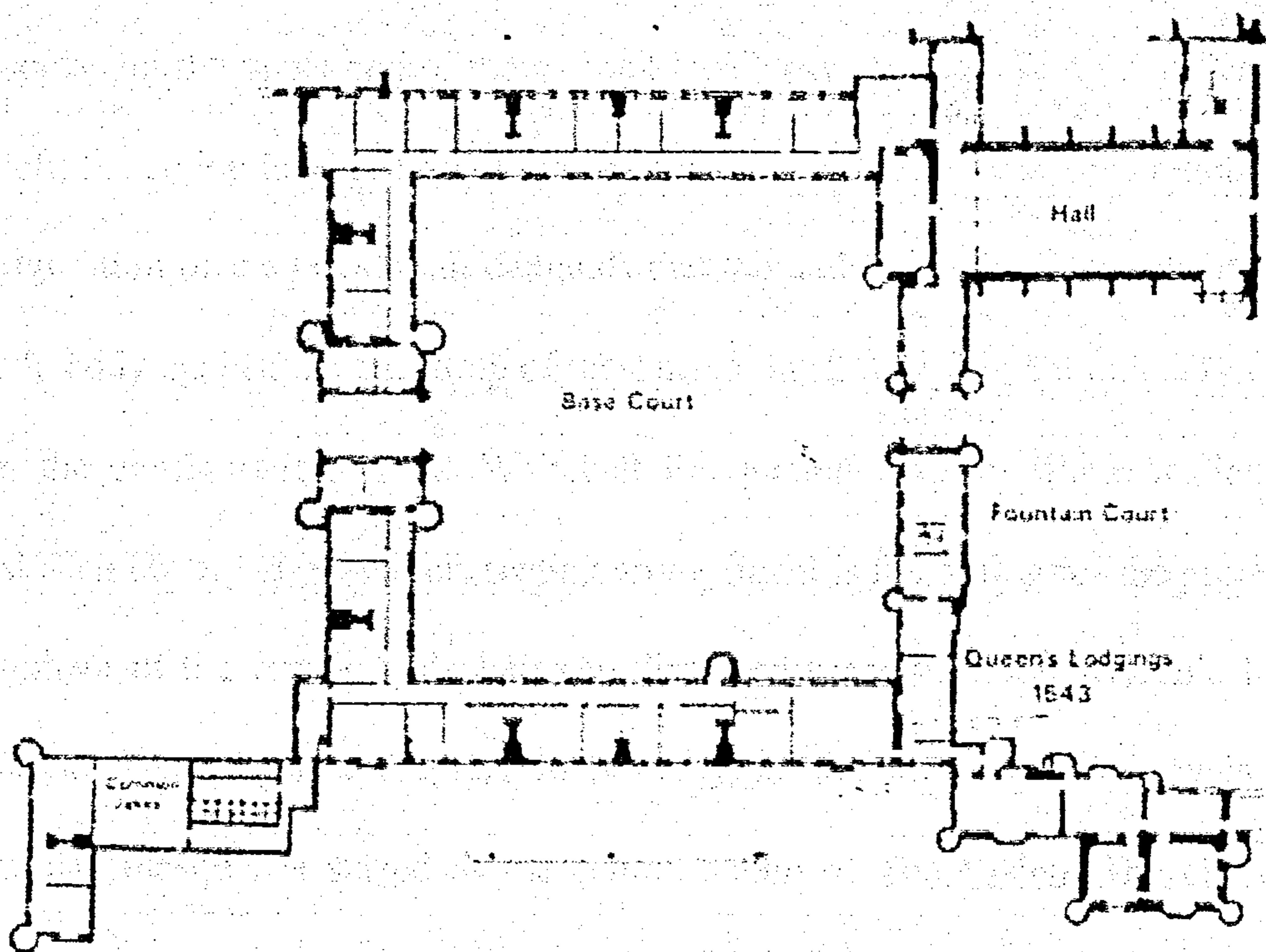


Figure 15.) Hampton Court; Thurley, Royal Palaces, p.129.

The effect of this seating arrangement is that the audience of The Vision is divided into two sections of equal level.¹⁸ The Vision has no raised stage, but uses dispersed free-standing scenic units reminiscent of the pageant cars of Tudor entertainments. The mountain from which the goddess-masquers descend is in front of the screen, at the upper end of the hall is Sleep's cave and the Temple of Peace is on the left; the action is staged on the floor of the hall between these scenic items.¹⁹ The configuration of the Great Hall demands that the audience witness the display of the female body against the backdrop of their peers. In itself this is not radically different from the configuration of the Whitehall Banqueting Houses, whose audience also faced each other, but, when this seating arrangement is the setting for the processional movement of the female body between dispersed scenery, a new dynamic becomes apparent. This physical display, found only in the measures and revels of the Jonsonian masque, is staged as the central action of The Vision. The obvious but forceful distinction between the use of the floor in this and later masques lies in the masquers' crossing and re-crossing of the floor, a movement not found again within the masque's central conceit until the 1613 performance of Campion's Somerset Masque, which I discuss below. The goddesses' horizontal travelling motion displays their bodies, costumes and movements to the audience; there is an intense focus upon the spectacle of the female body within the social space of the dance floor.

Analysing the masque genre itself, Limon has discussed its dependence upon the visual, a quality forcefully present in the heavily emblematic Vision, which is almost entirely predicated upon the visual interpretation of the performing female body.²⁰ The travelling motion of the masquers as they descend from the mountain,

cross the floor and return is a significant trajectory both within this specific performance and within the masque form itself. Staged before Jones's innovation of shifting scenery was brought to the masquing stage in Blackness, Daniel's masque does not stage the performing aristocratic body in the same way as do the later masques. Rather than being moved by the shifting scenery and presented to the audience (a primary trait of a masque such as Queens) these masquers emerge from the static scenery under their own power and, decked in elaborate costumes, give these individual scenic items motion. The performance within the Great Hall is a circular procession of the female body, displaying them for as long as possible on the hall floor. The upright figure of the female as she processes, a preordained movement governed by the definition of courtly grace, focuses the audience's gaze upon the architectural female body structured by the individual definition of the scenery of costume.

The audience of The Vision has a very different relationship to the display of the court than to that found in later Jacobean masques. The physical crystallisation of the Jonesian/Jonsonian masque around a dialogue between the seated monarch and the innovative raised stage is a commonplace of Stuart masque criticism. The Jacobean masque staged in the Banqueting Houses replaces Daniel's splintered vision of the court's perfection with its embodiment in the spectacle of the monarch and of the perspective scenery behind the proscenium. Within the strict hierarchy of the configuration of the Banqueting House's restricted perspective sightlines (after 1605), the audience has a radically different view of the scenery and performance than does that of The Vision, who are presented with a communal vision of the procession of the

goddess-masquers in the shared space of the hall floor, clearly visible to all. While this is a substantial element in the Whitehall Stuart masques in the measures and revels, discussed above, this communal spectacle is the main action of The Vision's conceit, embodying the visionary spectacle of the idealised court - later confined behind the proscenium and on the stage during the main masque - within the shared visual and symbolic space of the hall floor. From this perspective, the Great Hall is a less strictly hierarchical space than the Banqueting Houses become under the Stuarts. Flanked by the vision of the court which is a contemporary backdrop to the visitation of the idealised masquers on the shared space of the floor, the space of the dance floor is an intensely social one. The spectacle of the audience stresses courtly community and alters the meaning of the display of the female body within the self-absorbed gaze of the court upon itself, its history, its engagement with its former queen and its future with its new queen.

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The Jacobean reign opens with a Janus-like reworking of Elizabethan imagery to inaugurate the Stuart era, validating Stuart performance through Tudor tradition. Daniel's masque gazes back at Elizabeth's female community and forward to Anne's, one which Leeds Barroll interprets as offering greater opportunities for female advancement.²¹ This reconfigured imagery must negotiate the shift of female authority from queen regnant to consort, accounting for the new court's altered circumstances. As with so many of Anne's performances, The Vision is concerned with the nature of Stuart queenship and the role of the consort.

The Vision clearly signals its pivotal position between Tudor and Stuart performance through its visual text. There are no extant masquers' costume designs because The Vision is danced in clothes taken from the late queen's wardrobe. Arbella Stuart writes that 'The Queene intendeth to make a mask this Christmas to which end my Lady of Suffolk and my Lady Walsingham have warrants to take of the late Queenes best apparell out of the Tower at theyr discretion'.²² Audrey Walsingham's position as Keeper of the Queen's wardrobe implicates Anne herself in the raiding of the clothes which defined Elizabeth I's bodily actuality and in the appropriation of their riches and iconographical significance. In taking the former queen's costume upon herself, Anne also appropriates her predecessor's corporeal existence - she is shaping her body as Elizabeth's was shaped.

Iris's statement that the goddesses, descending to the mountain 'found there the best [...] of ladies, disporting with her choicest attendants whose forms they presently undertook as delighting to be in the best-built temples of beauty and honour' (p.37, 406-12), is significant.²³ As I shall demonstrate in my analysis of the relationship between the female body and the stage architecture of Queens, the architectural body - here designated as the temple - is one of the underpinning principles of the Jacobean masque's representation of the female body. This body is given individual definition by the structuring device of costume. The decision to forgo custom-designed costumes in favour of the appropriation of a past physical presence is the decision to possess the dead queen, to inhabit her corporeal actuality. At one point, Iris notes that the divine Powers 'clothed themselves with these appearances' (p.36, 400-401); the female body, like clothing, can be taken up and worn by others.

The image of the female body as costume, given material existence in the appropriation of Elizabeth's clothes, expresses the passivity of that body while it points to the constructed nature of gendered ideals. Despite the connotations of female passivity in divine possession - connotations of puppetry and manipulation which invoke the dichotomy of the corporeal soulless woman and her incorporeal divine counterpart - in relation to Anne's literal performance of Elizabeth's mortal body and body politic, this enactment can be read as empowering. Just as Anne and her ladies are supposedly possessed by the spirits of the goddesses whom they personate, they themselves are the inhabiting spirits of the performance of the defunct Elizabethan courtly female body. Female physicality is adopted and adapted as a means of reconstituting female power within the performance of the female body in the masquing hall.

Anne's reincarnation of Elizabeth I instates the new consort and her noblewomen as a continuing female courtly authority. Yet this re-embodiment, though duplicating the Elizabethan aristocratic body, also reworks that corporeality to express the shift between Tudor and Jacobean female power. This refashioning centres specifically on Anne herself. Certain alterations made to Anne's costume signal the significant distinctions which exist between Elizabeth I and the new Stuart queen. Carleton's comments are well-known; 'Only Pallas had a trick by herself, for her clothes were not so much below the knee that we might see a woman had both feet and legs which I never knew before'.²⁴ While such an alteration in Elizabethan skirt-length might be explained by the need to allow the performer to dance, such alterations are not uniform for all the masquers. Both Anne's unique royal status and

her difference from Elizabethan femininity is signalled through the transgressive sexualised display of the royal female body. Though the new queen assumes her predecessor's corporeality, Anne's is the marital sexuality of the queen consort, the woman who must gift the nation with heirs. In addition, the contrast between the Scottish queen's youthful grace and the ageing Elizabeth must have been striking.²⁵ Consummated female sexuality distinguishes the queen consort. This strategy is pursued to far greater outcry within Blackness and Beauty, but Carleton's comments point to the partial nature of its success.²⁶

Anne's possession of the former queen and refashioning of her legacy is also manifested in her personation of Pallas, the Elizabethan icon.²⁷ The choice of Pallas avoids a more conventional alignment with Juno, queen of the goddesses and deity of marriage. Anne's personation of the classical deity often associated with the virginal Elizabeth eschews the representation of the incoming royal couple through the gendered construct of the patriarchal family, the formulation of Stuart authority in masques such as Jonson's Hymenaei, where Anne is figured as Juno to James's Jove. The lengths to which Daniel goes to inscribe Anne/Pallas as The Vision's ruling goddess - Iris calls her 'the all-directing Pallas' (p.36, 406-7) - merely draws attention to this unconventional choice and the associations between the helmeted queen consort and her amazonian predecessor.²⁸ Furthermore, other female characters encapsulate these same resonances; Lucy Russell, personating Vesta - 'purity' (p.33, 305) - is also an embodiment of learned Elizabethan virginity. The piety and cultural engagement of both Russell and Elizabeth are represented through the visual markers of the book (the Bible) and the burning lamp of the wise virgin. Other characters,

specifically Diana (to be as prominent in Anne's iconographical career as Elizabeth's) and Astraea, performed by Lady Walsingham whom Anne had earlier rejected at the English border as one of Elizabeth's ladies, add to the reworking of Elizabethan imagery within the performance of this, the first Stuart masque.²⁹

Danced in Tudor costumes in a Henrician great hall and performed within an Elizabethan scenic configuration, Daniel's masque has an undoubted allegiance to the past. Yet as the refashioning of Elizabeth's clothes demonstrates, The Vision is a Tudor masque performed by the living bodies of the Stuart courtiers and queen, embodying 'a powerful and potentially subversive nostalgia'.³⁰ Gazing back at the previous reign, The Vision, performed by Anne's favourites and the old-guard of the Elizabethan court inner circle, also looks forward to the court of the new consort; this performance is a statement of intent.³¹ Female power is negotiated in Daniel's explicit attribution of political qualities to the female masquers; they are 'imperial' and 'war-like', even Venus is not the goddess of romantic love but has the power 'T'engird strange nations with affections true' (p.36, 302), a clear reference to Anglo-Scottish union. The familiar Tudor marker of the politicised woman is reworked to legitimate a statement of intent for Stuart female power - Elizabeth's authority makes Anne's viable.³² As the Stuart consort inhabits the body of the former English queen, and as the Great Hall is appropriated for the inauguration of a new, legitimated dynasty, so this masque itself expresses the appropriation and inhabitation of structures of English rule by the Scottish royal family. The personation of Concordia, 'the union of hearts', signals the union between Scotland and England through her costume's colour symbolism, a notion also hinted at in the motif of travel to 'Brittany', the new Britain,

‘the land of civil music and of rest’ (p.32, 260). Sibylla’s question, ‘will the divine Goddesses vouchsafe to visit this poor temple?’ (pp.32-3, 281-2), demonstrates the synthesis of these issues; the temple represents both the masquers’ bodies and the Great Hall itself, both possessed and visited by divinity. Borrowed clothes and borrowed performance spaces express the reality of the shift of monarchical authority.

The staging of the refashioned Elizabethan female body within the Henrician performance arena points to the prominence of the concepts of costume and the body it encloses and by which it is carried in this masque. Prominent in the dynamics of this masque’s performance space and in the trajectory of the performing female body, these concepts are also inscribed within the masque’s verbal transcript. Daniel explicitly associates the female masquer with political significance within the larger project of the constraint of female significance and a univocal masque performance.³³ The impossibility of such containment is demonstrated by the conflicting discourses of praise for both Anne and James I within The Vision. Furthermore, this performance presents the female body as text, a means of making significance available to the audience. The introduction to the goddesses through their shadows in the perspective of the scenic mount is entirely Platonic, the vision of the Ideal Form embodied in the text of the female body;

piety, who hath given mortal shapes to the gifts and effects of an eternal power for that those beautiful characters of sense were easier to read than their mystical *Ideas* dispersed in that wide and incomprehensible volume of nature

(p.32, 262-5).

The book which Lucy Russell carries resonates with implications of feminine corporeal textuality and expressivity. The Vision presents female masquers who perform as bodily signifiers of past and future female authority.

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While Daniel's masque displays the female body powered through its own kinesis as the central, social spectacle of the performance, this trait is radically altered by the introduction of shifting scenery into the masque form. This innovative transformation takes place in 1605 in the Jones/Jonson collaboration of Blackness and has a profound impact upon the representation of the female body as self-motivated spectacle. My next section will engage with this representation, analysing the impact of the introduction of shifting scenery upon the female body, and contrasting it with the presentation of that body within the dispersed static scenery of The Vision.

Part of the scenery: The Masque of Queens and the gendering of stage, architecture and costume.

Danced by Anne and her ladies in the second Whitehall Banqueting House in 1609, The Masque of Queens raises the perception of contemporary femininity as a central issue.³⁴ Recent feminist criticism has found Queens inviting ground, but disagrees on the extent to which the masque should be seen as a proto-feminist text.³⁵ The term 'text' is itself significant, since many readings of this masque are just that - textual interpretations which do not account for the dynamics of performance. Departing from this approach, I will analyse the masque's performance text, discussing stage machinery, costume and the relationship of the performance of the gendered aristocratic body to each.

Anne was actively engaged in the preparations for this performance. In November 1608, John Donne writes that James I 'hath left with the Queen a commandment to meditate upon a Masque for Christmas, so that they grow serious about that already'.³⁶ The Venetian ambassador reports that Anne, a committed participant, 'held daily rehearsals and trials of the machinery' for the masque.³⁷ Rehearsed in the smooth completion of their tasks, masquers and stage scenery hold a similar imaginative status in this performance. The human body and the 'carcass' of the masque scenery are conceptually bound together in performance.³⁸ This relationship between the aristocratic masquing body and Inigo Jones's scenic designs will form the main line of my discussion. Tracing the dynamics of the performance of

the gendered body through scenic and architectural discourses, I will discuss the expressive text of the masquing body and the generation of significance in the synthesis of architecture, body and text staged in the spectacle of the House of Fame. Following the same strategies used elsewhere to analyse Blackness, I suggest that the expressive performing body of Queens, bound up with the representation of queenship and the negotiation of female power, is the site of threat and tension.³⁹ The masquers' often-discussed amazon transgression is a product of their physical representation and corporeal performance. Queens interrogates female representation and performance through the central position of the gendered body in stage architecture, costume and dance. This is clarified in the juxtaposition of female masquers and male transvestite actors in performance. My analysis has been influenced by Suzanne Gossett's discussion of the confrontation of Circe (played by Madame Coniacke) and Pallas (played by a transvestite actor) in Townshend's Tempe Restored (1632), which reveals the interrogation of female representation at its most explicit.⁴⁰ I suggest that Jonson's masque is a self-conscious examination of the dynamics of feminine performative representation and an engagement with the tensions caused by a legitimate female performance within early modern discourses of femininity.

There is an interesting elision in the transcript of Queens. Although Jonson offers to describe the masquers and 'the persons they presented' (p.137, 647), the reader instead finds a précis of the characters' canonical literary representation.⁴¹ Stressing the fictionalised natures of the masquers' assumed identities, Jonson describes both fictive and actual female figures solely through their appearance in literature. Camilla's description, for example, is in fact a paean to Virgil's verses, than

which 'nothing can be imagined more exquisite' (p.136, 484). Jonson's climactic rhetoric in the description of Bel-Anna - 'if I would fly to the all-daring power of poetry, where could I not take sanctuary? Or in whose poem!' (p.137, 640-42) - prioritises textual selection over physical description. Historical and textual constructions, these women are subject to the authority of the male canon. The figure of the male poet/scholar is usually given precedent in these constructions; echoes of Jones' House are found in Webster's Temple of Honour in his 1624 Lord Mayor's pageant, Monuments of Honour, in which Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, More and Sidney are represented, and in the Parnassus of Scottish poets and scholars in Drummond's 1633 Entertainment for Charles I in Edinburgh.⁴² Though the only living woman among the fictional and the dead, Anne herself is textualised, named 'Bel-Anna', a quote from Jonson's first royal entertainments of the Stuart reign; presenting Anne as the sum of all queens, Jonson simultaneously presents himself as the sum of all poets.⁴³ Importantly, these annotations were made at the request of Prince Henry after the performance; Jonson elides the female body and its performative agency in favour of his own authority and that of the future patriarch.⁴⁴

What physical description Jonson's transcript does deliver is reserved for the scenery; the masquers' physicality is glossed over in favour of that of the House of Fame (figure 16). It is not Jonson's text which represents feminine physicality, but that of Jones's scenery and costume - the text of the House of Fame itself. Obligated to engage with the female body by the sheer fact of female performance, the scenic and corporeal text of Queens engages directly with the representative strategies of female corporeality. Queens' visual text has a necessary focus upon the corporeal which

denies the script's primacy, offering an alternative account of female textuality to that put forward by Jonson's linguistic construction of the feminine. The female personages' fictionality is incorporated within the physicality of the courtly women on the masquing stage. Recognised by their watching peers, their own lives representative both of the virtues and transgressions of the courtly noblewoman, the fictionalised queens of Jonson's transcript are bodied forth by corporeal women whose representation does not accord with masculine courtly ideals.⁴⁵

The presentation of the female body within the scenic construct of the House of Fame is a primary focus of Queens. The House structures the representation (textual, performative and architectural) of aristocratic Jacobean femininity and simultaneously constructs and frames the masque's self-referential focus upon these representational strategies. The anxiety over the relationship of the female body to performance manifest in Jonson's textual omission is also evidence of tensions concerning the interaction of the female body, language and architecture. The constructs of stage machinery and costume surround the masquer with physical restraints; I will assess the extent to which these constraints impact upon the performance of the gendered aristocratic body. This will necessarily engage with the masque's construction of the literary canon and the presentation of the female as textualised icon within the multiple texts of Queens.

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Inigo Jones's initial conception of the female body is architectural. Presented as living statues within the House of Fame, the signifying female body - a constituent of the meaningful building - forms the central focus of Queens' stage vision: the noblewomen become architecture. The initial presentation of the female body is made, therefore, under the gendered auspices of Renaissance Vitruvian architectural theory which takes the proportions of the perfected male body as its founding principle, situating the female body as the imperfect other.

From [proportion] result the principles of symmetry. Without symmetry and proportion there can be no principles in the design of any temple; that is, if there is no precise relation between its members, as in the case of those of a well shaped man.⁴⁶

Enthroned within the House, the female masquers are an architectural spectacle, their reified bodies serve the statue's function of corporeal display for the audience's gaze. The essence of the living female statue - the woman as icon - is the masquers' confinement within the static passivity of surface adornment; presented rather than self-presenting, they are represented as created artefacts.⁴⁷ This scenic definition of the female body reflects the equivalent courtly ideological restrictions upon feminine language and sexuality within the masque genre.

The most far-reaching of all these constraints is that of the masquer to silence. Considered in relationship to Queens' corporeal texts, this injunction is particularly allusive in the relationship of the performing female body to linguistic expression. Within a performance which centres on issues of text, language and canonicity, the House is itself implicated in the enactment of the perceived bonds between Renaissance architecture, language and the body. Jones's visual stage text synthesises

these concepts into an expressive whole; the scenic text of Queens depicts the linguistic canon as a bodily construction fashioned from the corporeal actuality of the female courtly performer. The House, 'whose columns be / Men-making poets' (p.135, 377-8), is itself a linguistic structure; it is the literary canon, fashioned upon the synthesis of text, architecture and the (gendered) body. This design, a signifying building which 'bodies forth' the canon ('personating' it), is an expression of the synthesis of architecture, the body and linguistic text. Founded upon the dimensions and imaginative perception of the body, the stage architecture of this masque is both corporeal and explicitly textual.

Despite Jonson's elision of the female body from the published transcript, his literary representation of the feminine reasserts the female relationship to that canon, particularly when juxtaposed with the scenic text of the House. The staging of the architectural female body places it in a direct relationship with language and textuality. The noble masquers access linguistic expression through the threatening physicality of the performing female body. In addition, the architectural structure which presents and defines the female body of Queens also makes that body the masque's central spectacle in both theme and performance. The term 'spectacle' and the phrase 'making a spectacle' converge on the performance of the female body within this masque to denote both the masque genre's ocular discourse of courtly magnificence and the gendering unpacked by Mary Russo to arrive at the convergence of discourses of class and gender in performative praise of the monarch. Russo discusses the 'specifically feminine danger' of the exposure and the loss of boundaries involved in spectacle; however, the essential volition involved in the act of 'making a

spectacle out of herself' assigns the female performers of Queens an empowering specularity.⁴⁸ The stage architecture of Queens clearly shows the convergence of these discourses. A two-tiered continuation of the galleried Banqueting House, distinguished by the proscenium arch and by its height from the floor, the House stages a conceptual continuity between court and visionary ideal.⁴⁹ Conceptually and structurally, the House sites the female masquing body at the centre of performance; positioned at the convergence of the stage's perspective sightlines, the female body is at the centrepiece of the visionary and actual world of the ritual court. Essentially ocular and literally visionary, Queens, as The Vision before it, centres upon the spectacle of the female body, exposed to the king's interpretative gaze.⁵⁰ While attempting to remain exclusively male, the House - the literary canon - is in fact built around the female body, destabilising the dominant male presence at the conceptual and practical heart of the symbolic stage architecture and the literary canon. Given this, the alignment of the queens with canonical literature is an allusive contrast to the non-courtly knowledge and experience of the transgressive witches.⁵¹ The representation of the body within the ideological decorum of the Jacobean court creates tensions within Queens, stresses also manifest within the masque form's own fractured synthesis of disparate arts and expressive potentialities.⁵²

The centrality of the female body is one cause of such tension. As the central structural component of the masque performance and stage machinery, the female presence in Queens reworks the gendered premises of Renaissance architecture. This is perhaps best illustrated in the reversal of the model of the Vitruvian caryatid; while the female caryatid bears the building's physical weight, the conceptual weight of that

architecture's aesthetic and ideological standard is borne by the male body. Yet Queens reverses this weight-bearing created out of servitude and passivity, to transform the caryatid into the embellishing female statue free to descend from Jones's elaborate pedestal. In contrast, the weight-bearing inanimate poet-statues remain static. Equally, Jones reworks his source text, the allegorical House of Virtue and Vice of Filarete's Trattato di Architettura, to raise the female masquers to the higher level, rather than consign them to the lower one designated for prostitutes.⁵³ The trope of the female body as architectural construct is both constraining and liberating - the created are given agency while the poets, the creators, remain lifeless. In the same way, the description of Artemisia, who ingests her husband's cremated body and is herself monumentalised, 'making herself his tomb' (p.136, 524), also endows the female body with the agency of architectural commissioning and creation, and amazonian rule. Designating the static supporting function of the House as male, Jones's designs blur the masque's strict hierarchical distinctions.⁵⁴ The disturbance of the conventional gender dynamics of Renaissance architecture is accompanied by a mistrust of the feminine within the masque's linguistic text; the women are accepted into the House and into representation itself 'against all opposite voice' (p.135, 403). In its architectural presentation of the female body, however, Queens stakes a claim for that body's significance in its synthesis with architecture and text in the House of Fame, a patriarchal linguistic construct made material through the created artefact of the female body.

The House is a contradictory structure. Although it constrains feminine self-definition, it also fashions the masquing body as a signifying force: female masque

performance is a negotiation of strictly enforced boundaries. This mode of performance demands an appreciation of the spectacle of the performing female body, on display in the House during Heroic Virtue's speech. Wynne-Davies describes the female masquers as being 'released' from the scenery to perform in danced motion, a description which is useful here; the masquers are released from contained stasis within the House into a different order of physical expression in the dance.⁵⁵ This pattern of holding and release calls attention to the complex structuring of imaginative space within *Queens*. The masquers withdraw within the House and descend inside it to the masquing stage, emerging through a central doorway suggestive of the building's interior. While the insularity of courtly society allows women to masque, their imaginative exteriority on the face of the House means that the masquers' representation is dictated by the gendered ideologies of the masculinised public social sphere - they are statuesque and architectural.⁵⁶ Emerging onto the masquing stage, the masquers also move into the enclosed community of the Banqueting House and, eventually, into a new order of physical expression. This shift into motion is enacted in interiority as the noblewomen emerge into the masquing hall through doors which connect distinct imaginative incarnations of the same space.

Yet this descent is not made through the masquers' own energies, it is a drawn-out process mediated by scenic items. The masquers emerge onto the stage in chariots, strongly reminiscent of such pageant cars as were used for Prince Henry's baptism, with the exception that the witches rather than a 'moor' are roped to the chariot. The amazonian queens remain scenic spectacles; they are conveyed in the chariots much as Anne herself was 'conveyet' during her Edinburgh coronation.⁵⁷

Though this image could be read as the spectacle of the self-willed female body (the hags who create a vision of hell through physical motion rather than scenery) harnessed to conformist women (the queens), there is also a more problematic reading. Emerging from the House, the chariots are an extension of Jones's innovatory shifting scenery; movement, the marker of scenic difference between the masque stage and the non-courtly theatres, is denied to the masquers. Scenic motion appropriates the female kinetic principle, literally harnessing the energies of the witches to the scenic structures and constraining the masquers to stillness. Both witches and queens are effectively restrained from self-willed movement; though one group is exalted, one humiliated, they share confinement. The harnessing of the witches' energies is not simply the domination of women over women, but of machinery over the female body.⁵⁸ In the appropriation of feminine physical energy by Jones's innovative scenery, the female body becomes spectacle.

The queens finally abandon scenic containment to generate significance through movement in the masquing dance (social and performative) on the floor of the Banqueting House. Despite tensions over the feminine presence, the court masque creates the female performing body as text; the creation of a physicalised literary canon around the gendered architectural body grants the noblewomen entrance to textuality. This corporeal textualisation is best illustrated in the dancing of Prince Charles' name.⁵⁹ Jonson's description emphasises the bond between the silenced female body, corporeal linguistics and architectural theory; 'the motions were so even and apt and their expression so just, as if mathematicians had lost proportion they might there have found it' (p.137, 711-13). The moving body creates proportion: the

architectural principle is the foundation of the linguistic expression of the textualised body of the Jacobean female masquer. The female body, fashioned as the literary canon in the architectural construct of the House of Fame which it itself creates, becomes explicitly textual in the dance of the name, denying the dislocation of the feminine from linguistic significance and disrupting the pressure to feminine silence. As in Blackness, the physicalisation of the female masquers leads not to their exclusion from linguistic expression but instead to the physicalisation of language itself, in the staging of the architectural and textual female body.⁶⁰

The scenic fashioning of the female body as spectacle is not unique to Queens, but is consistent throughout the early Jonesian/Jonsonian masques. While this display serves the same general purpose as that found in Daniel's Vision, it is predicated along vastly different lines, controlling rather than utilising the kinetic impulse of the female body in its display. The presentation of the female masquers in the scallop shell of Blackness, which displays the women and propels them to the front of the masquing stage; the three-way motion of the Throne of Beauty in the masque of the same name; the display of the female masquers of Hymenaei as a 'discovery', where they remain during Reason's speech before descending in 'two great clouds' - these masques set a pattern of static feminine corporeal spectacle and the appropriation of female kinesis by containing scenic items.⁶¹ Under certain circumstances, however, male masquers also become scenic spectacle, as does Prince Henry in the moving chariot of Oberon.⁶² Within a single-sex masque, therefore, nobles of either sex are static spectacles, often presented within the motif of release from imprisonment by the monarch's active gaze. The distinction between male and female performance,

however, lies in the fact that while noblewomen consistently form passive displays (the female body subjugated to the monarch's will within the discourse of courtly magnificence), aristocratic male performance alters with the nature of the masque genre itself. When noblemen perform alongside female masquers in the double masques Hymenaei and Campion's Lords' Masque, the dynamics of their performance are substantially altered. In contrast to the static female masquers of Hymenaei, the male performers 'issue forth' from a globe and go 'dancing out on the stage'.⁶³ In the presence of female performers, male masquers are represented as increasingly energetic, unable to be contained by the scenery. The exaggeration of gendered characteristics in mixed performance is most clearly shown in The Lords' Masque. Here, the gendered division of kinetic energies, figured in the contrast between the statue's encapsulation of the feminine icon and the semi-divine energy of the lords' dancing stars, forms the central conceit.⁶⁴ Exclusively male masque performance enacts the passivity of erotic power before the monarch examined in chapter two. However, when male and female masquers share a stage, masculine performance alters to portray an intensification of gender characteristics. Female performance, however, remains unchanged. The gendered body is a scenic component within these masques, the female body consistently so, the male only so long as it maintains an exclusive relationship with the monarch's gaze.

Appropriating the kinesis of the (gendered) body, scenic motion is a vital tool in the representation of femininity. In each of the scenic transformations which constitute the action of Queens, between the fiery hell and the House of Fame, and the *machina versatilis* which reveals the queens and Fama bona, the switch is sudden.⁶⁵

Jonson's transcript stresses both speed and surprise; 'Here the throne wherein they sat, being *machina versatilis*, suddenly changed, and in the place of it appeared Fama bona' (p.137, 422-3), echoing the description of the hell, which having 'quite vanished [...] *in the place of it* appeared a glorious and magnificent building figuring the House of Fame' (p.134, 331-39, italics mine). Emphasising place and replacement, the stage machinery is a succession of alternating visions of femininity; insisting on the bond between demonised witches, transgressive queens and the exalted abstraction Fama bona, it in effect presents successive visions of the same, ultimately threatening, femininity.⁶⁶ These three types of womanhood end the masque inextricably bound within a hierarchical male-authored stage-space; Fama bona watches from the heights of the House while the queens ride their chariots, followed by the physically debased hags. This hierarchical female community is broken only by the further descent of the masquers for the measures and revels, revealing the masque genre's class-driven agenda. Within a court whose prioritising of class over gender facilitates female performance in the masque form itself, class delineates the performance of femininity.

Within the sustained bond of the three incarnations of womanhood, however, these representations of the female are distinguished by their performers. While the most exalted and the most debased femininities, the extremes of the Renaissance polarised representation of the feminine, are performed by male transvestite actors, the queens, less easily categorised as clearly virtuous or vice-ridden, are performed by women. This suggests that feminine representation and female performance itself are under interrogation. This masque is concerned with the representation and performance of femininity, the self-referentiality of this feminine representation is

borne out throughout all the various incarnations of the feminine within Queens. The bonds between Queen Anne and the Dame are particularly instructive. Given that male performers can enact female transgression with impunity, Anne's transgressive performance in Blackness, resolved only the previous year in the performance of Beauty, relates suggestively to the transvestite male performers of the witches and specifically that of the Dame. The Dame herself draws attention to her transgression in her costume and her demands that her followers should bare their feet and knees (p.134, 242-3), an echo of the controversy surrounding Anne's over-revealing costume in 1605. Within the nascent antimasque, formalised at Anne's own request, her gender crime is represented by the male performer within a forum which itself facilitates the performance of the antithesis of the courtly ideal.⁶⁷ This self-conscious dislocation of the memory of previous court performances, and the self-referentiality of the performance of femininity is closely tied to the performance of these incarnations of the feminine by male and female performers, which I shall discuss below.

Exposing the Amazon: costume as scenery.

Within the intended social confirmation of the revels of Queens the transgressive reality of the female bodily icon takes hands and dances with members of the court. In the decorous dance, it is costume which signals the transgression of the courtly codes of feminine physical decorum. Designed by Jones, embellishing and defining the physical actuality of the female body in movement, the costumes of Queens are extensions of the stage machinery - costume as scenery. Costume

structures the signifying space of the gendered body as it informs the imaginative space of the stage; it defines the body for the gaze of a specific audience, working with or against conventions of the corporeal ideal.⁶⁸ Yet while their bodies are structured by costume, the female performers also energise these scenic items. In the aristocratic masquing body, Jones finds an alternative stage, creating meaning through the alteration of its form. It is wholly fitting that Jones should design the conceptually unified scenery and costume, a unity of design which reaches a logical conclusion in his 1619 design for the third Banqueting House. The House of Fame is a precursor of that building, unified with the existing performance structure of the 1606 Banqueting House and gesturing towards a future (as yet unconceived) performance space.

In my analysis of the masquing dance, I point out that Jones's designs are representations of the body in movement or dance. This active quality is particularly striking in Jones's designs for the queens, especially in comparison to the 'iconic, even heraldic pose [...] adopted for the communication of nobility' which Leslie identifies in the domestic tradition of the visual representation of the Renaissance courtly body (figures 17 and 18).⁶⁹ Jones's designs display 'a conception of the figure in which the bodies of the performers move, have weight and volume, and display the contours of a classical 'figure.'⁷⁰ Heavily influenced by continental mannerism, Jones's designs are depictions of the courtly body constructed within a representative discourse.⁷¹ Though slightly abstracted in facial and bodily features, individuals can be recognised in certain designs, such as that for Anne herself (figure 19). While operating primarily as practical working designs for costume manufacture, these designs are also representations of the courtly masquing body.

These designs are visual panegyric; as ideological presentations of the ideals to which the dancers should conform in pose and movement, they are both flattering and advisory representations of the masquing body.⁷² The recognition of the active motion of the masquing body found in these designs requires an appreciation of the physical realities of the masque's dances and of the practical demands of costume to accommodate such movement.⁷³ While the designs' representation of the active classical body reveals the manipulation of the courtly body image to accord with the discursive pattern of Jones's representational strategies, the demand that the corporeal actuality of the performing masquing body also be accounted for is an additional strand of these figurative representations. Representing both the physical actuality and idealisation of the courtly body and a fusion of classical, Italianate and domestic influences, these designs are complex representations in their own right. What is missing, of course, is knowledge of the results of the collision between the designer's controlling vision and the variable of the individual courtiers' performance of courtly bodily grace.

The representation of feminine movement in these designs is a continuation of the appropriation and definition of female kinesis by the stage machinery. Although liberated to move through its own powers in dance, the female body remains structured by the scenic definition of costume. The extent of the masquers' corporeal transgression becomes most apparent as they move from the masquing stage into the communal space of the dancing floor. Indeed this descent from scenic confinement creates transgression, generating significance through the alternative scenic structures of the masquers' martial, amazonian and transgressive costumes. Transgression exists

within the ideal vision of the masque world and within the definition of the bodies of those who appear to be the personifications of virtue but who in fact interrogate the definition of that ideal.

Queens's designs present an eroticised depiction of the female body. Several designs clearly show the masquers' breasts or cover them only with gauzy material. Aristocratic female breasts were commonly bared in the Jacobean masque, as Jones's designs for the masquers of Love Freed and for Tethys show (figures 20 and 21). The French and Elizabethan court fashion of exposed female breasts continues into the Jacobean reign - in 1617 Busino describes Anne herself with her 'bosom bare down to the pit of her stomach, forming as it were, an oval' - and into the court masque.⁷⁴ This assertion of sexualised femininity in line with the ideological requirements of the courtly woman is clearly apparent in Queens; Artemisia's breasts are barely hidden by a covering of light material and their shape is emphasised by the outlining of the costume (figure 5). This pattern is repeated throughout most of the costumes, even those which do not directly expose the breasts emphasise their presence; the costume for the unidentified queen displays bare breasts under a gauzy covering supported by a corset above an abdomen which is also scarcely concealed.⁷⁵ This corset is significant. Although these designs have an undoubted classical influence, this method of exposing the female breasts through the hard lines of corseture stems from an exaggeration of domestic fashion.⁷⁶ The contrast between the soft lines of the material covering arms, shoulders and chests, and the hard lines of the enclosing bodice which defines the upright courtly torso is also significant. As I have previously noted in the designs for Oberon, the striking effeminisation of the male figure is achieved through just this

contrast between the hard encasing lines of the bodice and the eroticised soft material swathes which emulate the line of female breasts.

While recognising the currency of a deep décolletage in many Jacobean court portraits, Chirelstein points out that

There are no known full-scale portraits from this period that depict truly rounded breasts and nipples; the kind of alluring display permitted in the idealised and privileged context of the masque does not seem to have been acceptable in portraits.⁷⁷

Significantly, Chirelstein demonstrates that female breasts and nipples were fully depicted in miniatures, ‘the most private of art forms’.⁷⁸ To privacy, I would also add the miniature’s elitism; it was an art form commissioned and owned by the aristocracy. The frank representation of the female body is confined not only within an intimate but also an elite relationship.⁷⁹ Criticisms of such aristocratic fashions which originate beyond the court, such as the bare-breasted noblewoman epitomising pride in the pamphlet for Anne Turner’s execution in 1615, originate within an alternative discursive context.⁸⁰ Patrick Hannay’s Second Elegie on Anne’s death describes the reaction of the proletariat to the vision of the Queen’s

large, low, open breast,
Full, white, round, swelling, azure-vain’d, increase
The error, for they thought none living would
Lay out such parts, for all eyes to behold:
So curious were the colours which were showne,
As Nature hardly could from Art be knowne.⁸¹

A detailed picture of the courtly practice of breast-exposure and vein-painting, Hannay’s lingering engagement with the sensuous image contrasts with the reactions of the non-courtly witnesses. Though his description and the dialogue of art and nature flatters Anne, the erotic shock of the non-courtly audience to this exposure

implies censure towards such artifice - Hannay uses the same means to praise Anne as contemporary critics employed to attack such practices. Within the Banqueting House's insularity, however, the bodily ideal of the female masquer is erotic. Defined by both gender and class, this physical ideal demonstrates the conflicting influences which operate upon the performing Jacobean court noblewoman. The female aristocrat is positioned at the nexus of the discourses of courtly membership and feminine withdrawal; class is prioritised over gender to demand both female performance and the representation of the feminine in line with that courtly ideal.

From one perspective, at least, the queens' costumes do not transgress the strict boundaries of the eroticised courtly ideal. For example, the design for Candace displays feminine sexuality without repeating the damaging transgressions of Blackness. In order to accord with the demands of aristocratic female sexuality, Candace 'that renown of Ethiopia' (p.136, 557) is portrayed without the use of black make-up. In addition, while the performers are eroticised, Lucy Russell's representation as Penthesilea also distance her from a transgressive sexuality. So, though her breasts and abdomen are clearly visible (one breast perhaps hidden by the amazon sash which I will discuss below), her shoulders and the top of her arms are covered, and her legs are almost concealed by her skirts (figure 1). The contrast is that between the non-courtly Dame whose physicality transgresses against court decorum and the queens who appear to conform to these codes.⁸²

Yet these costumes are transgressive - the designs' martial and amazonian traits are Queens' most overt expression of feminine non-conformity. In these contemporary

renderings of classical and amazonian costumes the most obvious reference to the amazon trope is their militarism; adorned with militaristic headpieces, the queens wear adaptations of armour and amazonian buskins.⁸³ The swathe across the torso, common to Penthesilea, Atlanta, Berenice, and Thomyris, is not only a reference to the amazon's bow, but also to their practice of removing one breast to allow easy use of this weapon (figure 13).⁸⁴ The assumption of masculine traits redefines the female body - it is literally reshaped. In Queens, this reworking is effected through the defining structure of costume; the masquers' prominent breasts mark the performing female body as a site of ideological conflict. The bared breast, erotic marker of virginity and nurturing image of maternity, is acceptable within the court masque.⁸⁵ However, the martial and therefore masculine erotics of these costumes transgress the passively erotic femininity of the court's ideal. Transgression is manifested in the conflicting signals of the conventionally eroticised female body within the threatening appropriation of masculine qualities of martial and political engagement. Strikingly similar in conception to the shift of gender categories within a martial framework depicted in Oberon, these designs are a marker of the tensions surrounding female agency in the Jacobean court.

The Amazon traits expressed within these costumes and in the transcript of Queens have been addressed in detail by critics.⁸⁶ The threat which the amazon poses is signalled in Jonson's description of Penthesilea; 'She was honoured in her death to have it the act of Achilles' (p.542). In the realm of Renaissance male fantasy, the only good amazon is a dead amazon.⁸⁷ The fantasy of the Amazon is necessarily complemented by the textual fantasy of her death and the reification of the

transgressive woman. Though not apparent within performance, such strategies complement the corporeal constraint of the female body in Queens. One aspect of the threat of erotic militarism lies in the intertextualities between Anne's representation as queen consort and the reign of Elizabeth I.⁸⁸ Although the amazonian trope was not explicitly used to compliment Elizabeth I because of the risk attached to the image of patriarchal order inverted, it was intimately linked with her negotiation of female rule and became more common following her death. Schwarz calls the iconography of Elizabeth I 'singularly inappropriate to James' and notes that it took place during a wave of Elizabethan nostalgia.⁸⁹ Valasca's husband-murder in the name of true order hints at a restoration of an earlier female rule, and threatens the familial construction of gendered Stuart absolutist authority. It is also possible to hear echoes of Mary Stuart; would James I recognise his mother, Anne's co-religionist, accused of bearing an illegitimate child (James himself) and husband-murder?⁹⁰

The court's own (masculine) knowledge has been prioritised in criticism of Queens; James I's interest in witch trials has been privileged over Anne's lived experience.⁹¹ The hags' 'great purpose' (p.132, 106), the overthrow of courtly festival by a coven of witches, maps onto the witch trials which followed Anne's arrival in Scotland. The attempt to destroy James is precipitated by his involvement with the feminine; even the virtuous woman is threatening. In 1590 the festivals of coronation and entry were threatened with disruption. In Jonson's masque, another ritual definition of queenship is threatened by the power of disruptive femininity. Although Queens seems to flatter the king, James I is an almost neglected presence in this masque; queenship and femininity are under examination.⁹² If James is embodied

masque, it is in the static, verbose but essentially weak Heroic Virtue, the performance's only non-transvestite actor.⁹³ As Schwarz says, the 'Jacobean queen's masques detach the display of women's power from the referent of the king' - the threat of the amazon is that of female community and male redundancy.⁹⁴

The similarity of witches and queens collapses the polarisation between monstrous and virtuous woman. The queens and the witches emerge from the scenery together into the social space of the masquing hall, implying an assimilation and survival of the witches' powers much as the defeat of Medusa by Perseus secures her powers for Pallas.⁹⁵ This masque can be read as both supporting and denying the polarisation of female representation within the patriarchal court hegemony. What it certainly does, however, is present the threat of femininity latent within the most 'virtuous' of women and problematise the representation of the feminine.

Purkiss identifies class (the courtly and non-courtly) as a primary division between these alternate representations of femininity.⁹⁶ Gender is another. While the exalted deity of Fama bona and the transgressive and humiliated figures of the witches are performed by male transvestite actors, female performance enacts a far less definable womanhood - the female masquers are representations of a challenging femininity which does not fit easily with contemporary masculine perceptions. The queens display traits of both conformity and of transgression within the courtly ideal; male performers enact the polarised representations of femininity, female masquers perform the blurred category of a femininity which, as Sherry Ortner puts it, stands beyond these extremes.⁹⁷ Both virtuous and transgressive, the depiction of the queens

questions the very constructions of virtue and transgression. Raising the fear that even virtuous women may stand beyond masculine depiction, this fear is translated on stage into that of the empowered, ruling woman - the fear of the Amazon.

The court masque's juxtaposition of transvestite male performance and female masquing is a neglected area. Predating the simultaneous performance of women and men-as-women on the Restoration stage, this juxtaposition is revealing of the gendered attitudes towards the perception, representation and performance of the feminine within the Jacobean court. Although transvestite male performance had long been established in the public and private theatres, it is precisely this juxtaposition which is significant.⁹⁸ Performed before an audience versed in transvestite male performance, this juxtaposition would perhaps highlight the presence of female masquers, emphasising such a contrast still further. Men acting as transgressive women (the witches) are displaced by women acting as men (the queens); Queens centres upon the representational strategies of femininity.⁹⁹ The literary construction and the performance of femininity are placed at centre-stage and interrogated; at the central axis of Queens is the House of Fame and its corporeal and literary representation of alternate visions of the feminine.

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Staged within a culture versed in transvestite male performance, Queens focuses upon the performing female body and the issue of female performance itself. The central axis of this masque, both thematically and literally in terms of the stage

picture, is the representation of femininity. The empowering specularity of the female body within this masque's scenery and costume highlights the novelty of female performance in the juxtaposition of female and male-as-female performance. The innovation of Jones's shifting scenery, brought into the masque form by Anne herself, brings about an increased specularity as the scenery appropriates the kinesis of the performing woman and 'makes a spectacle' out of her. This scenery is also expressive of the constraints which limit female performance in the masque genre itself; while it restricts the female body, it simultaneously creates it as a signifying medium within performance. The performance of female corporeality is expressive despite and because of the bodily definition of femininity through the structuring presence of scenery and costume. Queens stages a remarkable interrogation of the structures of female representation and political and social agency within female court performance.

We can see in this masque, therefore, an engagement with the dynamics of a female performance of which Queens itself, although not the last instance, was perhaps the climax within Jacobean Whitehall. As I shall discuss in the next section, the years after Queens see the beginning of the marginalisation of Anne's coterie and courtly women from performance. The career of two of the women who performed in Queens will be of particular interest. Anne of Denmark commissioned Queens and danced in it alongside Frances Howard; their paths cross again in The Somerset Masque, a performance which holds an important place in the history of Jacobean courtly female performance and which also illuminates a significant relationship between two oppositional women who were also opposed to each other.

Performing the King's will (II): court factionalism and Campion's Somerset Masque.

The years between The Masque of Queens and the 1613 performance of Thomas Campion's Somerset Masque in celebration of the marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Carr are eventful ones in Jacobean court performance. 1609-13 sees the rise to substantial performance and patronage of Prince Henry, his sudden death and the break-up of his court. These years also see the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and the extensive *magnificences* of the Palatinate Festival, including a rare and influential double masque by Campion. I have analysed the gender dynamics of the entertainments of this festival elsewhere; their position within the tradition of Jacobean courtly female performance is deeply significant.¹⁰⁰ Ben Jonson's Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly, danced in 1611, is Anne of Denmark's final performance as a conventional masquer, but as I shall demonstrate, it is not the end of her engagement with the court masque.¹⁰¹

This section will focus upon the performance of Campion's Somerset Masque, relating it to the tradition and status of Jacobean courtly female performance. In doing so, I will confront established critical assumptions regarding the elite female community's will to performance. Those scholars who have considered Anne of Denmark's masquing performances often characterise her withdrawal as a result of the tumultuous personal events of 1612-13: the death of her son and the loss of her daughter to continental Europe.¹⁰² It is undeniable that the general emotional

outpouring which followed Henry's death and Anne's deep grief, still demonstrable in her refusal to attend Prince Charles' inauguration as Prince of Wales four years later, contributes to this withdrawal from performance.¹⁰³ To propose these forceful personal reasons as the sole cause of the shift in the trend of Jacobean female performance is, however, to assign such performance to the 'feminine' realm of the maternal/domestic and female performers themselves to one side of the dichotomy of male/female and logic/emotion. Furthermore, although Anne was necessarily a leader of courtly female performance, her withdrawal into mourning does not account for the perceived general female retreat from the court masque. Gendered tropes aside, the historical evidence contradicts a total abandonment of performance on the part of either the Queen or her women. On the contrary, the retreat from the court masque in fact accompanies a phase of performance outside the boundaries of the court, both as spectators and participants; the progress to Bristol and Bath in June 1613 and the later performance of Cupid's Banishment (1617) at Greenwich Palace suggest the emergence of a more complex picture of the various sites of Jacobean power and performance.¹⁰⁴ In addition, Anne's grief does not preclude her from a continuing engagement in the political life of the Whitehall court; her public opposition to the Howard/Carr marriage clearly figures her as a political force.

What then are the contributory factors to the female retreat from Whitehall performance? Necessarily for a queen consort, they are both gendered and factional. In the first decade of the Stuart court in England the king's masques, or those commissioned in his honour, were restricted to marriage masques such as Hymenaei or Lord Hays' Masque. The performances of this decade outline two distinct courts

and models of authority: James's court, devoted to Anglo-Scottish union, images power and authority through the gendered construct of the patriarchal family, best exemplified in Hymenaei; Anne's court propagates an image of female community and a continuity of queenship from Elizabeth I in such performances as The Vision, Blackness and Queens. As I have demonstrated, many of the tensions of the masque genre arise from the conflicting demands of Anne's position as queen consort and performer. Though, as Parry points out, masques must be 'presented to the king as gifts of state', the assertion of gender and political difference which Anne's masques attempt pushes upon the constraints of these performances.¹⁰⁵

In the second decade of the Jacobean reign in England, however, the Whitehall court masque - the stage for female opposition - begins to be reappropriated by male aristocrats. This process is initiated by Prince Henry. Performing in masques and barriers, and commissioning works from Jonson (previously associated primarily with Anne's masques), Henry begins to encroach upon the Queen's masques in 1610 with Prince Henry's Barriers, which follows his request for an annotated edition of Queens. Henry's involvement radically alters the nature of the masque genre, bringing a third prototype of royal authority - that of the militant Protestant chivalric hero - to the masquing stage.¹⁰⁶ The demands placed upon the poet by the existence of these courts can be clearly seen in Daniel's Tethys' Festival. Danced by Anne and her women for the inauguration of Henry as Prince of Wales, and necessarily involved in the praise of James I, this masque delicately balances the agendas of the three courts of king, queen and heir.¹⁰⁷ The years of Henry's involvement are also ones of transition for James, who was perhaps reminded of the potential of performance by his son's successes;

these are the years of the Palatinate festival (organised by Henry) and the Inns of Court's tribute masques to James.¹⁰⁸ But by the performance of The Golden Age Restor'd (1615), the first masque to follow the Palatinate and Somerset marriages, James's masques had effectively replaced Anne's as the traditional seasonal performances.¹⁰⁹ One result is that these later masques are freed from the necessity of pleasing both king and patron; with James fulfilling both roles, these masques achieve a less problematic homage of the watching king.¹¹⁰

The female aristocrat's apparent retreat from the court masque is in fact a redirection of cultural energies into performance beyond the central Whitehall locus of power and into alternative forms of patronage and production. Anne herself remains an active patron. She continues to employ Inigo Jones (most prominently in her commission of the Queen's House at Greenwich), and also employs the architect Solomon de Caus, who accompanies her daughter on progress to the Palatinate and dedicates the treatise Institution Harmonique to Anne in 1615, to design the gardens at Greenwich.¹¹¹ Her commission of the treatise of maritime sovereignty De Domino Maris (1616) from the Scottish scholar William Welwood is a more overtly political act of patronage. Aimed at securing Anne the monopoly of inland water fishing rights, this commission implicates her in the later debate over maritime sovereignty between James I and Christian IV.¹¹² Neither did Anne's coterie withdraw from their positions as patrons. As Lewalski has demonstrated, Lucy Russell remained an important cultural force beyond the Whitehall court, a garden designer and the centre of a country house coterie of writers.¹¹³ Both she and the Queen were the dedicatees of Amelia Lanier's poem Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum (1611), and their involvement as

both active instigators and passive targets of patronage continues in the years after Somerset.¹¹⁴ Russell remains involved with the masque genre until at least 1617, abandoning performance for the less controversial position of masque organiser and patron.¹¹⁵

My aim in this section is to demonstrate the pivotal position of Somerset in the shift of the courtly woman away from Whitehall performance and towards alternative cultural outlets. Campion's entertainment is Anne's final masque performance and the last of any female aristocrat at Whitehall before the arrival of Henrietta Maria.¹¹⁶ My analysis will reveal Somerset to be an enforced enactment of female submission which rejects both previous oppositional female performances and any such future female engagement. In this sense it relates disturbingly to the tradition of female masquing in the Stuart court; this masque uses the very female performance previously so expressive of opposition as a lever against the continuation of such masquing. Somerset presages the retreat of women from performance and into less immediately controversial forms of female cultural engagement.

My analysis of Somerset rests on the reading of Anne's participation and its relationship to the tradition of female performance itself. The background to this marriage masque is well known; the scandals of the Essex divorce, James I's manipulation of the council in support of Robert Carr, and both Campion's and Jonson's difficult task of synthesising panegyric with the match's realities have been discussed in detail. David Lindley's sensitive analysis of the discourses of female representation in The Trials of Frances Howard demonstrates the moment's

complexities and the dangers of an unexamined reading of gendered representational tropes.¹¹⁷ Less attention, however, has been paid to Anne's role in this collision of court scandal and performance, and it is upon the details of her performance in Somerset that I shall focus.

* * *

Somerset's high stakes are evident in the staging, only a few weeks later, of a rival set of celebrations for the marriage of favourites within Anne's court.

All the talk is now of masking and feasting at these towardly marriages, whereof the one is appointed on St. Stephen's day, in Christmas, the other for Twelfth tide. The King bears the charge of the first [Somerset], all saving the apparel, and no doubt the queen will do as much on her side which must be a mask of maids, if they may be found.¹¹⁸

The weddings to which Chamberlain refers are the Somerset match and that between Lord Roxborough and Lady Jean Drummond, Anne's lady-in-waiting and co-religionist, which actually took place on 2 February 1614. The queen's 'mask' is in fact Daniel's pastoral Hymen's Triumph, commissioned by Anne and performed in Somerset House.¹¹⁹ Substantiating the Queen's ongoing cultural patronage, this scenario also delineates the parallel structures of the distinct court establishments - Somerset House is the site of the 'Quenes court (as yt must now be called)'.¹²⁰ Royal favour, the common currency of each court, is shown in the sponsorship of prominent courtiers' marriage celebrations. Mirroring the structures and performances of the king's court, Anne fashions her own favourites as courtiers, her agenda clear in her care to keep the Earl of Essex close to her during the feast.¹²¹ Cultural production,

patronage and performance are essential tools for the constitution of rival courtly establishments.

Somerset echoes the theme of (re-)animation within both Campion's earlier masques.¹²² In an apparent compliment to James I's protection of the court, the masquing lords are freed by the king from the enchanted paralysis of false fame which has surrounded the Carr/Howard marriage. This transformation and the shift of scene from the antimasque's abstracted land and seascape to the vision of contemporary London forms the masque's pivotal moment. Yet this transformation demands a remarkable performance from Anne. Whereas the enchanted performers of contemporary French *ballets*, upon which Campion draws, are reanimated simply by the monarch's gaze, Anne, who is not a masquer, must restore the lords by plucking a bough from a tree of gold, brought to her as she watches from the royal dais.¹²³ This is unprecedented within the Jacobean masque. In no other masque is an audience member actively involved in the moment of transformation, in no other masque do actors leave the stage as agents of that transformation. One factor in this remarkable female performance is the need to offer homage to James I under the difficult circumstances of this marriage. For Campion to position James himself as the explicit transformational force would correspond too blatantly to his manipulation of the divorce commission; Anne provides the necessary referent.¹²⁴ Yet this could be achieved through more conventional means, through spoken compliment or the use of a performative analogue for the royal spectator. Why then should Campion choose to involve his queen in this unnecessary performance?

The explanation lies in Anne's well documented opposition to the Carr/Howard match. This antagonism is perhaps based in the coalescence of the former Essex faction, long opposed to the Howard faction despite their shared Catholicism, around the Queen.¹²⁵ James I's reinstatement of the Essex loyalists in the alliance of Robert Devereux and Frances Howard in 1606 also marks the rise of the Howard family. The rift between these factions was exacerbated by the break-down of the marriage intended to cement their reconciliation. Anne's personal opposition to the burgeoning career of Robert Carr, James I's favourite, was to lead her to introduce George Villiers to the King's bedchamber and to support his claim as rival favourite. In 1613, however, while the match had incurred the Queen's displeasure, Carr had James's full support for his marriage.

Campion's masque career is tied to controversial marriages. By the end of 1613 he has written The Lord Hays' Masque for the marriage of Honora Denny and James Hay, The Lords' Masque for that of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, and Somerset. While The Lords' Masque celebrated James I's policy of pan-European religious appeasement, the other alliances pursued Anglo-Scottish dynastic union. Though Hymenaei is the most prominent masque of international union, Campion's masques serve James I's manipulation of the dynastic and factional balance of the court, nation and Europe. Campion's employment as masque writer for the Somerset union extends the association between king, Howard faction and poet, which dates back to the 1607 Lord Hays' Masque.¹²⁶ Performed by several Howard supporters, Somerset reveals the extent to which the court masque is the tool of faction and the marker of favour.¹²⁷ Such factional manipulation of the court masque continues

throughout the Jacobean reign, spectacularly in Villiers's dance in Pleasure Reconciled and also in The Golden Age Restored, which reverses Somerset to celebrate Carr's fall from royal favour.¹²⁸ Anne herself performs as a conventional masquer only in those masques which she herself commissions from Daniel or Jonson. This, her first performance in a masque staged by a rival faction, is remarkable for its unconventionality. Campion scripts a masque which ritually involves his queen in a performance of support for a marriage which she has previously opposed.¹²⁹

David Lindley points out that Anne's eventual acquiescence to the political reality of the Somerset match literally facilitates Somerset itself, since Anne's capitulation allowed the wedding to be celebrated in Whitehall.¹³⁰ Lindley also shows that Anne's role as catalyst for the masque's transformation is intended to offer 'a Royal guarantee' of the couple's virtue in the face of scandalous rumour.¹³¹ Yet, given Anne's open opposition to the match, what does it mean that she is invited (indeed obliged) to enact her approval publicly in a manner unprecedented in Jacobean court ritual? The detail of Anne's performance points to the ambiguities of her role in Somerset and of the dynamics of her court status. Given court society's knowledge of the Queen's objections, the implications of her performance undermine rather than exalt her - though she is hailed as the 'Sacred hand' of queenship (p.273), Anne's performance is a forceful reminder of her necessary dependence upon the rule of the king.¹³²

Anne's bizarre performance in Somerset can be illuminated through an appreciation of her oppositional masquing performances within the Stuart court. Her participation in Somerset defuses the subversion of previous female performances. Sponsored by James and his favourites, and reminiscent of just that gendered model of power constructed in Hymenaei, the primacy of marital relationships, feminine chastity and the rule of the husband in Somerset ties it to James I's earlier marriage masques. Somerset opposes a necessarily conformist female performance to earlier feminine transgression; it is an explicit reversal of the tradition of Anne's opposition to the gendering of the king's marriage masques. The Queen, whose performances opposed the marital construction of Stuart political and temporal authority, must now enact a ritual blessing of the union of members of a rival faction which simultaneously condones the patriarchal construction of royal authority.

The decision to require Anne to perform in this remarkable manner impacts upon Somerset's structure and significance. The weight of the masque conceit is borne by the Queen, and Lindley remarks that the transformation of the masquers is 'rather perfunctory' and 'merely endorses what has already been achieved' in Anne's banishment of the antimasque.¹³³ Though Lindley attributes this failure to the 'difficult circumstances of its composition', I believe that the extreme emphasis upon courtly female masquing in general and Anne's performance in particular distorts the structure of this masque.¹³⁴ Within a masque danced by noblemen, female engagement forms the pivotal transformation between antimasque and main masque. As in the masque genre itself, necessary female performance is constrained to ensure its conformity. Reversing the romance conceit - 'Since Knights by valour rescue

Dames distrest, / Let them be by the Queene of Dames releast' (p.273) - this at first appears to empower female performance. Yet the cost of facilitating male masquing is the containment of female performance within Anne's ritual capitulation. Within a genre founded on the construction of courtly society, the undue emphasis upon coerced female performance within Somerset places an unbearable pressure upon the structure of this masque.

The imaginative status of the Whitehall masquing stage itself is at issue here. Although a distinctive structural component of the masque genre, the royal dais emerges in Somerset as an explicit site of performance; a unique female engagement reveals this rival stage's potentialities. The transvestite Destinies 'set the Tree of Golde before the Queene' (pp.272-3), by whom it is then given to 'a nobleman', who then passes it to a squire; the tree moves from masquing stage, across the dancing floor, to the dais before its path is retraced. This visual performance of the bond between stage, hall and dais intensifies the status of the Banqueting House, and the state in particular, as symbolic social spaces of performance. Within Somerset, the royal and courtly audience is explicitly identified with their aristocratic co-performers upon the raised stage. The masquing hall itself, its fourth wall transformed into a vision of the city beyond, also emphasises the consequences of Anne's acts for the contemporary political situation. This is intensified in the performance of the Queen herself. As she watches from the king's state, dressed for court ceremony rather than masquing, Anne's transitional status between masquers and audience is signalled primarily by Eternitie's use of the name 'Bel-Anna' (p.272). As I shall discuss below, this Jonsonian name was last applied to Anne in Queens and marks her as a performer

of the masque's conceit, presenting the integral relationship between the masquer's assumed persona and courtly identity in heightened form. Anne is given only a name to represent her elevated performative status and denied access to the masquing stage; the layer of theatrical artifice is stripped to a minimum - Bel-Anna is Queen Anne in court ritual and life. Simply by naming Anne after her previous personation, her policies and loyalties are brought within the masque in the performance of the Queen *as queen*.

The imaginative status of the symbolic space of royal state and masquing hall creates the potential for such a performance within every masque. Despite James I's unwillingness to be a conventional masquer, he is the performer of several impromptu interjections from the dais, quick to demand that a dance should be repeated (as in Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple, and Jonson's Beauty) or to explode with displeasure (Pleasure Reconciled).¹³⁵ What distinguishes Somerset is the pre-ordained participation of the queen rather than the spontaneous outbursts of the king. In this masque, non-performance becomes a position of power and performance a tool of submission.

Yet while the court masque should demonstrate the power of the monarch in the reanimation of the masquers under his gaze, the need to ensure Anne's public performance of the king's powers also demands that James's authority be displaced onto his queen. Almost a paradigm for Jacobean courtly female performance, Anne's necessary engagement must operate within the strict limitations imposed by the king's agenda. However, female non-performance was not unprecedented; Somerset follows

Frances Howard's remarkable performance of refusal in Love Restored (1610) and Anne's own rejection of the Protestant sacrament in the English coronation of 1603. Anne's performance suggests in Somerset implies that she was not in a position to refuse. This performance simultaneously reinstates the queen consort in a central position and employs previously oppositional female performance to render that centrality passive. Excluded from the main masque, restricted to a brief but politically loaded mode of performance, Anne's participation frees the male masquers to dance but heralds the retreat of the courtly woman from the Whitehall masquing stage.

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As I have suggested above, Somerset reworks the Queen's own performance career to enact feminine submission through the potentially threatening medium of female performance itself. Within the series of Jacobean masques there are, as one might expect in a genre with shared aims and mythologies, a stock set of images, emblems and conceits. Somerset is unusual, however, in the extent to which such intertextualities cluster around Anne. Campion's masque is intimately related to the tradition of Jacobean female masquing, and, through such intertextualities, itself contributes to the establishment of this tradition within the continuity of courtly experience. This masque creates a canon of female performance in order to discredit that same performance and its opposition to the mainstream court.

The most suggestive relationships exist between Campion's masque and the 1605 and 1608 performances of Jonson's Blackness and Beauty. Predicated around

maritime imagery, both authors figure an overseas journey of homage arrested by the power of non-courtly forces, Jonson in the journey of the Daughters of Niger, and Campion in that of the knights from 'every quarter of the earth' (p.269).¹³⁶ The maritime imagery is most clearly embodied in the descriptions of Somerset's scenery, for which no designs survive.¹³⁷ In the conceit of the enchanted storm, both Somerset and Beauty draw upon Anne's journey from Denmark as a representative trope of alien femininity, much as did earlier Scottish performances.¹³⁸ Such maritime imagery and the conceit of Britain as the island centre of the known world are constants throughout Anne's performance career, given emphasis by her own difference. This image is at the centre of Daniel's Tethys' Festival which, commissioned by Anne, figures the Queen as a sea-goddess and her ladies as British rivers.¹³⁹ Anne is placed in a liminal relationship to island Britain; she does not inhabit the land but is instead associated with the waters which, both native and other, defensive and threatening, simultaneously protect and isolate Britain, marking it as an island. The image of water itself is both gendered, associated with the open fluidity of female corporeality, and political, connected with Anne's engagement in disputed maritime sovereignty.¹⁴⁰ Somerset reworks a motif closely linked to the (self-) representation of the queen consort.

In addition, the visual images of these performances are also closely inter-related. The most striking example is that of the emblem of the golden tree itself. Giovanni Battista Gabaleoni, the Savoy agent, describes Somerset and although he is unclear over the timing of the plucking of the bough, he identifies the golden tree as an olive, the Biblical emblem of the fruitful wife.¹⁴¹ An emblem of marital fertility

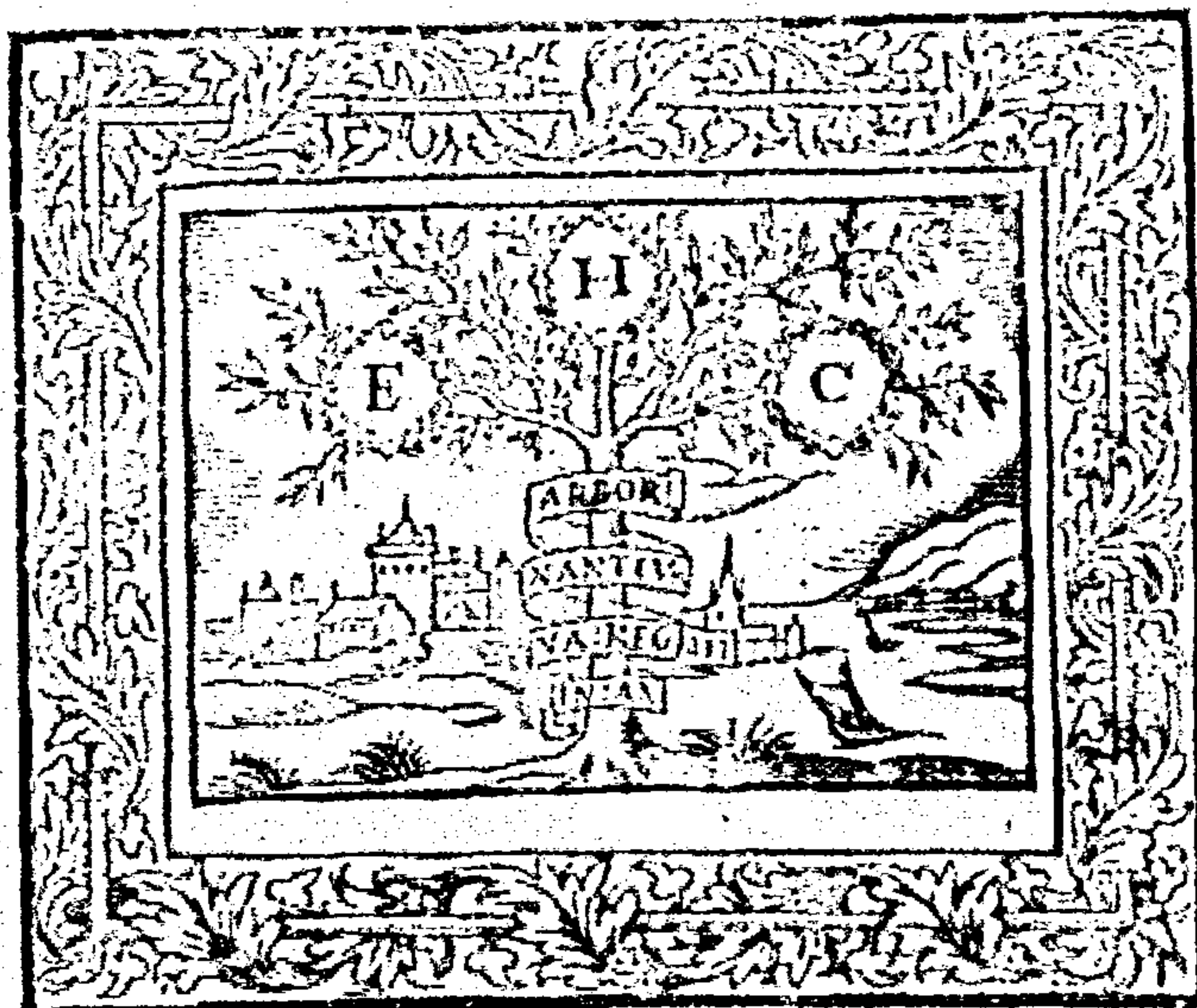
and the rule of the husband, this is prefigured by Henry Peacham's choice of the olive tree as Anne's emblem in Minerva Britanna (1612), dedicated to Prince Henry, the image has close associations with the Queen (figure 22).¹⁴² A common masque motif, the golden tree crops up with remarkable frequency in the careers of both Anne and Campion, associated throughout with enchantment, transformation and sovereign power. Yet while this imagery predicates Anne's authority upon that of her husband, the golden tree is a multivalent image of multiple, simultaneous interpretations. St. Paul compares the Jewish nation to the lopped branches of the olive tree; 'because of unbelief [the branches] were broken off, and thou [the gentiles] standest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear' - the image is admonitory and punitive.¹⁴³ Associated with the golden tree as created artefact, fashioned from Anne's personal iconography and the iconographic strategies of the feminine in the early modern period, the image of the golden tree can be read as a warning to Anne to concur with the king's wishes. The removal of the golden branch is as much the punishment of Anne's failure to concur with James's will as it is the freeing of those who are enchanted. Simultaneously, however, the associations of the image of royal trees in both Medici and Stuart iconography renders it equally interpretable as a compliment to Anne. Mary Stuart's embroidery of the impresa of the lopped tree and Lorenzo de Medici's Virgilian-inspired impresa of the golden bough, 'If one is torn away another will not be lacking', are statements of the perpetuity of the royal line through the gift of the heir.¹⁴⁴ This image can be simultaneously read by the emblematically sophisticated of the court audience as a statement of Anne's power as queen consort and of her dependency upon the authority of James I. A debatable and open-ended image, it is susceptible to various and apparently conflicting interpretations. Dependent upon the

13 : TO THE THRICE-VER'EVOVS, AND
FAIREST OF QVEENES, ANNE QVEENE
OF GREAT BRITAINE.,

ANTONIO DE
CALZADILLA.

In ANNA regnantium arbor.

ANNA Britanniarum Regina.,



A N Oline lo, with braunches faire dispred,
Whose top doth reach vnto the azure skie,
Much seeming to disdaine, with lostie head
The Cedar, and those Pines of THESSALIE,
Fairest of Queenes, thou art thy selfe the Tree,
The fruite * thy children, hopesfull Princes thee.

* Non claret,
non Lepidus,
sed de hinc im-
perio monumenta
quam maxime
Libertatis. Tz-
cusi. 4. H. A.

* pueri subie-
cti. &c.

Which thus I ghesse, shall with their outstretcht armes,
In time o'respread Europa's continent,
To shield and shade, the innocent from harmes,
But overtop the proud and insolent:
Remaining, rainging, in their glories greene,
While man on earth, or Moone in heauen is scene.

Estum

Figure 22.) Peacham, Minerva Britanna, emblem 13; Bergeron, Shakespeare's Romances, p. 67.

relationship of the queen consort to the authority of the king, such interpretability arises from the consort's dualistic, liminal position within the court's power structures.

Though the image of the golden tree occurs in Tethys' Festival and in multiple form in the masquers' transformation in the Lord Hay's Masque, its first appearance in Anne's masquing is in Blackness.¹⁴⁵ As Euphoris and Aglaia, Anne and Lucy Russell dance with the painted emblem of the 'golden tree laden with fruit'. D.J. Gordon identifies this imagery as expressing royal and spiritual fertility.¹⁴⁶ Peacham's representation of the royal heirs as the fruit of Anne's tree and 'fruitful vine' is prefigured by the fruit on the golden tree of Blackness, a masque which, as I have argued elsewhere, centres around the queen consort's gift of the heir to present a radical refiguration of the sexuality of the royal woman.¹⁴⁷ Fruit tree imagery is also found in the emblems of the chateau of Dompierre-sur-Boutonne, where with its motto 'Tu ne cede malis' and the motif of women sowing seeds, it expresses perseverance and survival.¹⁴⁸ It is from this 'Tree of Grace and Bountie' (p.272) that Anne must pluck the branch to facilitate a marriage to which she has been strongly opposed. This masque, centring upon the construction of marital authority, aristocratic female fertility, and emphatically referring to Anne's performance, stages an emblematic iconography which both celebrates and denies the radical transgressive representation of female sexuality staged in her earlier masques. Royal female fertility, the source of the queen consort's power, is performed in an image susceptible to interpretation as a celebration of its survival and female refiguring and as

expressive of its control through the masculine appropriation of this admonitory image.

Emphatic verbal echoes of Blackness and Beauty in Somerset set a pattern of constant referral to earlier female masques. The opening speech of the First Squire reworks prominent images from the Jonsonian performances. While Jonson's 1605 entertainment opposes the blackening Ethiopian sun to the cleansing power of James I's imperial light, the Squire's speech immediately presents the Syrian sun as a force of disruption, threatening the 'frute of Peace and Joy' (p.269) which is also that of dynastic heirs. Such interconnections continue in the reference to 'churlish Boreas' (p.269). Welsford identifies this with the 1608 Florentine Ballet of the Winds, but this figure also crops up in the same year as the aggressive nascent antimasquer of Beauty.¹⁴⁹ The similarities between the 'grisled skin coate, with haire and wings' (p.271) of Somerset's pantomimic antimasquer and Jones's design of the russet and white robe, grey wings, and 'rough and horrid' hair and beard extends this intertextuality into the visual.¹⁵⁰ The antimasque of the four winds presents full-fledged figures of discord. Both the sun which so controversially blackened Anne's skin and the North Wind which heralded her return to the masquing stage with bleached skin in Beauty, are now presented in their conventional negativity to honour James I through his consort's submission.

A clear instance of this intertextuality is the figure of 'Africa, like a Queene of the Moores, with a crown' (p.271), who enters in the antimasque of 'the foure parts of the earth'. A composite image of Anne's personation of a 'blackamore' in Blackness

and a female ruler in Queens, this image resonates within Jacobean female performance. Yet the representational strategies of the female within these masques differ drastically. Within the imperialist discourse which exalts Europe as 'Empresse' and aligns the female body with territory, the alien female monarch of the Jonsonian masques reverts from a position of empowered self-performance to Campion's passive symbol of territorial possession performed through the body of the male actor. Transferred from main masque to antimasque, the figure of the black queen is aligned with the forces which are to be dispelled by the power of the king. The transgressive courtly femininity of the daughters of Niger and the exalted queens is reworked within the antimasque figure of Somerset, banished from the main masque and from female self-performance. Anne, the only woman permitted to perform, is depicted as her everyday self and as the conformist supporter of royal policy.

In addition to the use of the Jonsonian name 'Bel-Anna', Somerset has significant similarities with Queens. Fame, 'Great Honors Herrald' (p.269), is at the heart of both masques. Although as I have established above, the position of Fama bona in Queens is not unproblematic, Fame herself is the central conceit around which Jonson's masque centres. Lindley identifies the basic conceit of Somerset as false fame, a reworking of the dualistic figure of Fama bona in Queens.¹⁵¹ The duality of fame - malicious rumour and virtuous reputation - is divided between Somerset's antimasque and main masque. Standing at the pivotal point of transformation between these two components, Fame and Anne are strongly identified with both.

While Fama bona is represented by a male transvestite performer, Campion uses the various figures of the antimasque (paralleling Jonsonian Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, Falsehood, Murmur, Malice 'whetting of her forkèd tongue', Impudence, Slander, Execration, Bitterness, Rage and Mischief) to create a composite presentation of false and malignant fame. Jonson's figures of gossip and slander - the sins of the tongue - create a composite image which Purkiss characterises as non-courtly female knowledge.¹⁵² These figures are themselves most clearly echoed in Campion's male-performed female personification of Credulitie, a witch in Queens and an 'Enchanteress' in Somerset (p.271). The negative duality which Purkiss identifies in Fama bona, as I have shown, is connected explicitly with perceived feminine duality and anxieties surrounding female admission into the patriarchal construction of language and authority. Such an opposition between the courtly and non-courtly, common scandal and female sexual reputation, maps onto Somerset's presentation of false fame.

As I have discussed, the division between witch and queen in Jonson's masque is far from clear-cut; Anne's pivotal position identifies her with both the court and the antimasque. Equally, Somerset's transformative moment when Anne takes the branch from the golden tree is also the moment when she is obliged to enact the loss of her own authority in the face of that of the king; identified both with James's power and the dispelled antimasque, both are internalised in her performance. In founding Somerset upon the conceit of false fame, Campion is reversing the dynamics of the Queen's previous performance: Fama bona becomes false fame, masque becomes antimasque. Illegitimate (non-courtly) power in Somerset is encapsulated in the

obscured presence of the female enchantress. Although Credulitie is identified as an enchantress, a more specific correlation between female and enchantress can be found in the Queen herself. Anne, the woman who 'Can all Knotted spels unty' (p.272) is, as in *Queens*, also the woman who rids the court of oppositional enchantment. Yet as the alien queen consort, the royal female versed in magic, Anne is also implicated in just that illegitimate knowledge and power which her performance banishes.¹⁵³ The recycled figures of previous antimasques - Boreas, Credulitie and the black queen - are a disparate force without a leader. But both the French *ballets* which influenced Campion and the domestic masque tradition identify a single powerful figure as responsible for enchantment. The missing figurehead is supplied by Anne herself. The woman of illegitimate knowledge whose humiliation transforms antimasque to main masque, the Queen is Dame to the antimasque's scattered hags. Such an identification demands that *Somerset*'s audience construct an explicit parallel between their queen's performance and the actuality of the courts of Anne and James I. Performing with the minimum of theatricality, Anne explicitly performs as herself and as the referent for the figurehead of the antimasque forces of enchantment. *Queens*' statement of female community and authority is channelled into propagating the power of the male court.

The figuration of Anne as *Somerset*'s hidden female enchantress is illuminated by the accusations of magic within the Essex divorce court proceedings. The decision to shift the representation of witchcraft away from the bride and onto the Queen is risky, yet wholly in line with the discourse of Jacobean courtly female performance and, as Purkiss demonstrates, early modern cultural production itself.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, there are contemporary parallels between Anne's enforced performance and the defeat

of illegitimate female power in French court entertainments. Campion's use of Tasso as a precedent to validate the contemporary reworking of classicism (p.268) highlights the relationship between this masque and the 1617 Ballet de Renaud which took Tasso's epic Jerusalem Delivered as its source.¹⁵⁵ Both this *ballet* and its influential predecessor, the Ballet comique de la reine (1581), ritually enact the defeat of female enchantresses - Alcine and Circe respectively - in homage to the power of the monarch.¹⁵⁶ Phallogentric power is figured in the *ballets'* wands (Circe's is presented to the royal dais by Minerva) and the branch of Somerset. Aligned with such oppositional women as Circe, Alcine and the Dame, Somerset depicts Anne as securely constrained within the discourse of the alien queen consort and the witch - discourses which negotiate female authority and the threatening empowered woman in the Renaissance. It is worth expanding on Lindley and McGowan to point out that the *ballets* which so influence Campion are staged during the regency of Marie de Medici; images of the conquest of illicit female enchantresses express French courtly society's tensions over female rule and the 1617 Ballet de Renaud employs these images as a near-explicit warning from Louis XIII to the Queen Mother.¹⁵⁷ Campion departs from this model merely to intensify the implication of the transgressive nature of female political involvement. Evidence that courtly entertainments were already and would continue to be an accepted forum for the enactment of the submission of the royal female to the will of the male monarch can be seen in the completeness with which the performance of Somerset maps onto that of the submission of Catherine de Bourbon to Henri IV in the *ballets* composed for her by Catherine de Parthenay in 1592-3.¹⁵⁸

Somerset is unmistakably opposed to the policies and performances of the Queen and her court. Anne's identification with the witches of the antimasque of Queens is disempowering. Binding the Queen to the performance of an authority which she has opposed, Somerset constructs her shared humiliation with the witches bound to the chariots of the virtuous queens. The tradition of Jacobean female performance is mined to create a new balance of power within the factional masque of the Somerset wedding.

Conclusion: Anne of Denmark and Frances Howard.

The Somerset Masque demonstrates the disparate nature of Jacobean courtly female community. Beyond the construction of an opposition between ‘conformist’ and ‘transgressive’ women, there are important distinctions within these categories, usefully illuminated through the roles of Queen Anne and Frances Howard. Co-performers in Queens, the careers of these women share an element of transgression against the courtly feminine ideal and of marginalisation within much previous historical analysis.¹⁵⁹ Yet we should be wary of simplifying the distinctions between individuals. The influence of class and faction, the distinctions between royalty and aristocracy, and the primacy of the common currency of royal favour create distinctions between women who seem to be united in transgression against an unspecified other of the ‘rest’ of the court.

Despite their shared non-conformity, Anne and Howard are polarised by their implication in the Jacobean court’s power structures. Members of different factions, by reason of birth, religious affiliation or choice these women’s careers show how personal aims, political choice and necessity distinguish female court members from each other just as much as male courtiers. Marital and kinship bonds tie women to different factions; women such as Lucy Russell exploit systems of kinship allegiances, disregarding those of her husband in favour of her own blood relations.¹⁶⁰ In contrast, Anne’s position as incoming queen consort grants her limited freedoms to create her own faction.¹⁶¹ Within the construct of Jacobean courtly society, aristocratic and royal

women are at the nexus of conflicting demands of class and gender - political, factional and familial allegiances overcome any simplistic sense of gender solidarity.

In Somerset the opposition between Anne and Frances Howard becomes direct. The queen opposes the marriage of a noblewoman from a rival faction and must then perform her acquiescence in the face of the king's authority in a ritual staged before the courtly community. Political opposition is worked through in a performance which is itself a sought after means of effecting and altering the balance of factional power. Anne's capitulation within Somerset is damaging to her status as queen consort, of which she was intensely protective. Contrary to the earlier performance of Blackness, often read as disregarding Anne's queenship but in fact representing notions of female authority in a way unpalatable to Jacobean court ideology, there are no recorded concerns over the damage done to Anne's royal status within this later masque.¹⁶² Somerset can publicly demean the Queen's status precisely because this is done in the service of the patriarchy offended by her earlier transgression.

The elusive but richly allusive connection between Queen Anne and Frances Howard is forged early in Jacobean court performance. Though Howard only masques in Queens and Tethys' Festival, her relatives and those connected to the Howard faction are a strong presence in Anne's entertainments. In addition to Frances' mother, Catherine, Countess of Suffolk, and two of her aunts, Blackness is heavily populated with Howards, their relatives and supporters.¹⁶³ The careers of both Anne and Frances Howard are, therefore, intimately tied to courtly performance in the entertainments in

which they and their respective allies perform. Yet despite their shared representation and performative agency, the approaches of these women to performance also demonstrate significant variations. Although Frances Howard is involved in courtly performance she is not a cultural agent in the same sense as her queen. Anne's self-conscious use of patronage, performance and commissioning far outstrips Howard's; her masques perform a redefinition of the perception and representation of the queen consort and of female authority within the Jacobean court. The relationship between these two courtly women is not a simple equation of oppositional women, but is a fractured and complex alignment; to present an image of a community of women opposed to a single patriarchy is simply to replace one monolithic vision of culture with another, equally fraudulent one.

In its staging of the opposition between two apparently non-conformist women, Somerset reveals the extent to which courtly performance is the locus of factional conflict and to which factions seek to control performance. The masque genre is the creation of courtly power through performance and as such is the battleground of factional court conflict. In this extreme example, the masque stages both previous opposition and enforced conformity to the king's favour. The performance of Anne's submission to James's will is the reversal of the active performance of non-conformist self-fashioning which has been the hallmark of the other performances examined in this thesis. The Somerset Masque draws its most exalted female spectator into the performance of female submission which is itself an attack upon the emergent discourse of female performance within the Jacobean court.

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The spectacle of the female body is a site of expressive significance within the Jacobean masque. While the dynamics of female performance alter with performance space and the development of scenic strategies, the spectacle of the aristocratic masquing female body remains at the heart of each performance of which it is a part. Moving from the intensely communal display of the female body in the processional of Daniel's Vision, Jones's innovative shifting perspective scenery has an impact not only upon the masque's hierarchical structure, but also upon the relationship between masquer and audience and the representation of the female body. Appropriating the female body's kinetic energy, the moving scenery which displays and propels the masquers creates the masquing body as the central spectacle of the stage. While apparently presenting the female masquer as a passive spectacle, such specularity can simultaneously reify and empower the masquer within the visual dialogue of masquer/audience.¹⁶⁴ Masquing is a visual marker of favour and the means of its creation. Within the courtly discourses of magnificence and favour, the display of the gendered body imparts an empowering specularity.

The intense focus of Queens upon the spectacle of the female masquing body is perhaps a result of the legitimisation of female performance within the court masque. Yet the eroticised spectacle of the female body and the constraints which surround its performance suggest that it exists in an uneasy relationship to the dictates of courtly femininity. This focus upon and engagement with female performance is further emphasised by the juxtaposition of female masquers and transvestite male professional actors. Profoundly engaged with the dynamics of legitimised female masquing, Queens interrogates female representation and performance itself through

the juxtaposition of the performing woman and the transvestite male actor within the hierarchical scenic structure of the House of Fame.

It is significant that it is Anne of Denmark's own engagement with the masque form which precipitates the introduction of shifting scenery onto the masquing stage. Commissioning Blackness, Anne contributes to that stage's transformation and its representation of the female body. The noblewoman, existing within the constraints of the masque genre, performs within further scenic constraints to facilitate a new order of feminine expressivity. Apparently passive within the stage machinery, the female body in fact achieves an empowered specularity, fashioned as the centre of the stage spectacle. Constraint facilitates expression.

The masquing career of Anne of Denmark is not a steady progression towards an increasingly unfettered female performance, but should be read rather as a series of negotiations, accommodations and defeats. The court masque is a factional tool, and Somerset demonstrates the Queen's marginalisation and exclusion from mainstream court performance. The claim staged for female performance in Queens is rejected within Anne's enforced participation in Somerset. Yet Anne's engagement with the court masque does not end with her temporary capitulation in the plucking of the golden bough. Exploring the implications of the marginalisation of the courtly female from performance, the next chapter of this thesis will analyse Robert White's 1617 masque Cupid's Banishment, staged beyond Whitehall in the Queen's court at Greenwich Palace. In this section, I shall discuss continuing Jacobean courtly female agency in the second decade of James I's reign.

Notes to chapter three.

¹ Karen Lee Middaugh, "The Golden Tree", p.158.

² Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.1-30.

³ Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir John Chamberlain, 22 December 1603; cited in Chambers, III, p.279. There was a masque of lords (1 Jan) and then another of Scots (6 Jan), neither of which was preserved - Ben Jonson was thrown out of the latter; Chambers, III, p.278-9.

⁴ All references to this text will be taken from The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, ed. by Joan Rees, in Spencer and Wells, pp.17-42. The editorial assignment of the speeches describing the goddesses to the masquers themselves is entirely inaccurate. The most recent analysis of Daniel's work is by Stephen Kogan, The Hieroglyphic King: Wisdom and Idolatry in the Seventeenth-Century Masque (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986).

⁵ Spencer and Wells, p.19. Andrew Gurr, Shakespearian Playing Companies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.352.

A letter written by Sir Thomas Edmondes and dated 23 December 1603 states that

Both the King's and Queen's Majesty have a humour to have some masks this Christmas time, and therefore, for that purpose, both the young lords and chief gentlemen of one part, and the Queen and her ladies of the other part, do severally undertake the accomplishment and furnishing thereof; and, because there is use of invention therein, special choice is made of Mr. Sanford to direct the order and course for the ladies.

Chambers, III, pp.278-9. Chambers identifies 'Mr. Sanford' as Henry Sanford, who like Daniel had been of the Wilton household of Mary, Lady Pembroke, under whose patronage Daniel established his reputation as a poet with the sonnets to Delia; Chambers, III, p.272, 279.

⁶ Chambers, III, p.273, p.276, p.274, p.277. For the criticisms of James found in the plays of the Children of the Queen's Revels, see Shapiro, pp.193-6, pp.230-31. See chapter one, 'The Scandinavian celebrations', for an account of Sophia's commissionings.

⁷ Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, in Lee Jr., pp.53-9.

⁸ Herford and Simpson, X, p.450.

⁹ James is recorded as remarking to the Venetian ambassador at the performance of The Masque of Beauty that 'he intended this function to consecrate the birth of the Great Hall which his predecessors had left him built merely in wood, but which he had converted into stone.'; C. S. P., Venetian, 1607-10, XI, p.86.

¹⁰ Colvin notes that James I did not expand or alter the Great Hall, but spent lavishly on its careful maintenance; Howard Colvin, (gen. ed), The History of the King's Works (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982), IV, Part II, p.144. For the history of Hampton Court Palace, its origins as the palace of Cardinal Wolsey and the alterations made under Henry VIII until James I, see Simon Thurley, The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993), pp.112-20; Ernst Law, The History of Hampton Court Palace in Tudor Times (London: George Bell & Sons, 1885), pp.168-70, p.174.

¹¹ Thurley, pp.113-4. Thurley adds that 'the 'outer chamber' at Hampton Court was a great hall, fulfilling all the communal functions which were required of it and fulfilling them in the most magnificent manner possible'; p.120.

¹² Thurley, p.120, p.129; Palme, pp.130-1; Fumerton, pp.69.

¹³ Palme identifies this distinction as an integral aspect of the design of the Whitehall Banqueting Houses; Palme, pp.113-4. Law, p.165.

¹⁴ Thurley, p.120.

¹⁵ The screen conceals three entrances leading to the kitchens, offices and pantry; Law, pp.168-70.

¹⁶ Shapiro, p.29.

¹⁷ For a description of the galleries of the second Whitehall Banqueting House, see the comments of Orazio Busino at the performance of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue in 1618; Orgel and Strong, I, p.282; for the third Whitehall Banqueting House, see John Charlton, The Banqueting House Whitehall (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), p.18.

¹⁸ A precedent for this is the two-way division of the audience in the Greenwich Disguising Theatre of 1527 (discussed in chapter four). Spinelli describes the 1527 Greenwich Disguising Theatre, observing three rows of degrees on either side of the room, each row with a rail for leaning; Anglo, p.109. Though Thurley describes the layout as an amphitheatre of seats, the majority of the Greenwich audience would have been level with and facing each other on either side of the action; Simon Thurley, 'The Banqueting and Disguising Houses of 1527', in Henry VIII: A European Court in England, ed. by David Starkey (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), pp.64-9, p.66.

¹⁹ Chambers, III, p.278.

²⁰ Limon, chp. 2; Rees, p.20.

²¹ Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', pp.191-208.

²² Arbella Stuart to her uncle, Gilbert Taylor, Earl of Shrewsbury, 18 December 1603, in The Letters of Arbella Stuart, ed. by Sarah Jayne Steen (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.197. Steen identifies the named women as Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk and Lady Audrey Walsingham, Keeper of Queen Anne's wardrobe. Barroll identifies Lady Walsingham as a member of Anne's 'Drawing-Chamber'; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', p.204.

²³ In her primarily historical and textual reading of this masque, Middaugh stresses the creation of a sense of female community; Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.84.

²⁴ Dudley Carleton to Sir John Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, in Lee Jr., p.55.

²⁵ As Carleton puts it, 'Pallas bore the bell away'; Lee Jr., p.55.

²⁶ Dudley Carleton, in Herford and Simpson, X, p.448.

²⁷ Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.84. For further discussion, see Helen Hackett, Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).

²⁸ See the analysis of Queens below for a discussion of the amazonian discourse surrounding Elizabeth.

²⁹ Lady Audrey Walsingham's husband had been a prominent courtier in Elizabeth's reign, knighted in 1597, and she herself had accompanied Anne south to London in 1603. She became prominent in Anne's masques and remained on intimate terms with the queen until Anne's death in 1619; Dictionary of National Biography. Anne's rejection of Lady Walsingham, along with the Earls of Sussex and Lincoln, Sir George Cary, the Countesses of Worcester and Kildare and the Ladies Scrope and Rich took place at the English border; Williams, p.76.

- ³⁰ Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections', p.300.
- ³¹ Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', pp.200-205.
- ³² Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.85.
- ³³ See Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass' for the ramifications of the constraint of female linguistic expressivity, p.1-30.
- ³⁴ Jonson, The Masque of Queens, in Orgel and Strong, I, pp.130-53; and in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.122-41.
- ³⁵ Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', pp.233-64; Lewalski, pp.36-9; Purkiss, pp.202-6; Marion Wynne-Davis, 'The Queen's Masque', pp.79-104; Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections in the Jacobean Queen's Masque', pp.294-319; Stephen Orgel, 'Jonson and the Amazons', in Soliciting Interpretations: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry, ed. by Elizabeth Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 119-39; Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", pp.158-92.
- ³⁶ Donne to Sir Henry Goodyere, 14 November 1608; cited in Herford and Simpson, X, p.491.
- ³⁷ The Venetian ambassador, 22 January 1609; Herford and Simpson, X, p.494.
- ³⁸ Jonson, Blackness, in Complete Masques, p.47.
- ³⁹ Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.1-14.
- ⁴⁰ Suzanne Gossett, "'Man-maid, Begone!'", pp.96-113.
- ⁴¹ Maurer notes the disparity between Jonson's stated aim of describing the masquers and the textualisation which he in fact provides, but relates it not to performance but to the identity of the masquers themselves. While I have deep reservations over the arguments which Maurer puts forward, and her paper's dependency upon textual analysis of a performance genre, her insight is undoubted. Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', p.236.
- ⁴² F.L. Lucas (ed.), The Complete Works of John Webster (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966), III, pp.311-39; David Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642 (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), p.208; William Drummond, The Entertainment of the High and Mighty Monarch Charles ... into ... Edinburgh, the fifteenth of June, 1633 (Edinburgh, 1633); Bergeron, Civic Pageants, pp.109-17; Elizabeth McGrath, 'Local Heroes: the Scottish Humanist Parnassus for Charles I', in England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp, ed. by Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), pp.257-70.
- ⁴³ Jonson names Anne as 'Bel-Anna' in the King's entertainment, passing to his Coronation; Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', p.245.
- ⁴⁴ Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', p.253.
- ⁴⁵ Anne Burghley's investigation of the lives of the performers of Blackness, many of whom also perform in Queens, is narrow in vision but does demonstrate the extent to which the lives of many of these women were non-conformist. Anne Burghley, 'Courtly Personages: The Lady Masquers in Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness', Shakespeare and Renaissance Association of West Virginia Selected Papers, 10 (1985), 49-61.
- ⁴⁶ Vitruvius, The Ten Books of Architecture, trans. by Morris Hickey Morgan (New York: Dover, 1960), p.72. For the gendering of Renaissance architectural theory, see Svetlana Alpers, 'Style is What

You Make it: the Visual Arts Again', in Berel Lang (ed.), The Concept of Style, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), pp.95-117. For the concept of the 'perfected' and 'classical' male body and the 'imperfected', 'grotesque' and 'open' female body within early modern thought, see Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed' in Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, ed. by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers (London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp.123-42, pp.123-4.

⁴⁷ For an analysis of the motif of the woman-as-statue within Thomas Campion's Lords' Masque, see Clare McManus, 'Marriage - Real and Representational: The Palatinate Wedding Entertainments and the Place of the Female', (University of Warwick, unpublished MA dissertation, 1994), pp.23-54.

⁴⁸ Mary Russo, 'Female Grotesques: Carnival and Theory', in Feminist Studies/Critical Studies, ed. by Teresa de Lauretis (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp.213-29, p.213. The notion of empowered specularity as applied to the analysis of the masque has been put forward by James Knowles, working from the theories of Richard Dyer; Knowles, 'Toys and Boys: The (Homo)erotics of the Jacobean Masque'.

⁴⁹ The stage was raised four feet from the hall floor; Orgel and Strong, I, p.131, citing the Declared Accounts of the Audit Office. Orgel and Strong, I, p.138, fig. 7. Busino; Orgel and Strong, I, p. 282.

⁵⁰ Franko's reading of Dorat's Ballets des Polonais demonstrates the extent to which the female body is to be read as text and the power which the king has over others to carry out this interpretation; Franko, Dance as Text, p.23.

⁵¹ Purkiss, p.203.

⁵² Lindley, 'Introduction', in Lindley, The Court Masque, p.2.

⁵³ Filarete, Trattato di Architettura, written between 1461-64; this connection is expounded by Eugene R. Cunnar, '(En)gendering Architectural Poetics in Jonson's Masque of Queens', LIT: Literature-Interpretation-Theory, 4 (1993), 145-60. See John R. Spencer (trans.), Filarete's Treatise on Architecture (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), 2 vols, I, p.119, pp.245-8.

⁵⁴ Vitruvius, pp.6-7, pp.103-4. David Thomson comments that in Cesariano's 1521 Italian translation of Vitruvius, the caryatids are depicted in real suffering; Thomson, Renaissance Architecture: Critics, Patrons, Luxury (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp.81-4.

⁵⁵ Marion Wynne-Davies, 'Gloriana's Face', pp.83.

⁵⁶ Certain models of European Renaissance architecture confines women to the heart of the domestic house's interior, keeping them away even from windows; Mark Wigley, 'Untitled: The Housing of Gender', in Sexuality & Space (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, Princeton Papers on Architecture, 1992), pp.327-89.

⁵⁷ 'The forme and maner of the coronatione of Anna, the Quenis Majestie of Scotland', in Gibson Craig, p.51.

⁵⁸ The 'age of gold is also perforce an age of machines'; Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque, p.138.

⁵⁹ See chapter two, 'Dance and language: the dances of the main masque'.

⁶⁰ Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.18-24.

⁶¹ Hymenaei, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.84, 227-28.

⁶² Oberon, in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.159-73.

⁶³ Hymenaei, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.79, 99-101.

⁶⁴ Thomas Campion, The Lords' Masque, in Spencer and Wells, pp.95-123.

⁶⁵ 'In The Masque of Queens, Jonson makes the stage machine genuinely integral to the dramatic structure of the masque'; Stephen Orgel, 'Introduction', in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.8.

⁶⁶ This is highlighted by Maurer's insight into the lingering presence of the witches in the main masque and her interpretation of Fame as the deity of both honest reputation and infamy; Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', pp.255, p.243.

⁶⁷ Queens, in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.122-3, 8-14.

⁶⁸ Madeleine Lazard states that costume is a means of modelling the body to the ideal; 'Le Corps Vêtu', in Cèard, Fontaine and Margolin, pp.77-94, p.78.

⁶⁹ Michael Leslie, 'The Dialogue Between Bodies and Souls: Pictures and Poesy in the English Renaissance', Word & Image, 1 (1985), 16-30. Ellen Chirelstein uses Jones's design for Tethys in Tethys' Festival as an example of this movement; Chirelstein, 'Lady Elizabeth Pope: The Heraldic Body', in Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540-1660, ed. by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), pp.36-59, p.59. The design for Atalanta is a fine example of this type of movement, although it is not clear if it was used in performance. No queen of that name appears in Jonson's text, but the design is inscribed with the name of the Countess of Arundel whom Jonson lists as a masquer.

⁷⁰ Ellen Chirelstein, 'Lady Elizabeth Pope', p.39.

⁷¹ The most in-depth discussion of the representational strategies employed by Jones and the continental and domestic influences which are apparent in his costume designs for the masque is John Peacock's The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); this work has greatly influenced my approach. Peacock sites the life-like quality of Jones's designs within his intellectual and artistic development; Peacock, pp.168-9; John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones as Figurative Artist', in Gent and Llewellyn, pp.154-79, p.168. Orgel and Strong note that Jones's technique has undergone 'a striking improvement in quality [...] heavily influenced by engravings after Italian Mannerist artists with an emphasis on dramatic *chiaroscuro*'; Orgel and Strong, I, p.139.

⁷² John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones as figurative artist', p.170. The designs for Henrietta Maria's costume as Chloris demonstrates that Jones was expecting a degree of input from his queen; Orgel and Strong, II, pp.444-8. The surviving portrait of Lucy Russell in Hymenaei demonstrates that she too had a say in the design of her costume; Orgel and Strong, I, p.104.

⁷³ Writing about the courtly celebrations of Christmas 1603-4, Dudley Carleton comments on the mistakes made in the costumes for the male dancers; 'Their attire was rich but somewhat too heavy and cumbersome for dancers, which put them beside their galliards'; Carleton to John Chamberlain, January 1604, in Lee Jr, p.54.

⁷⁴ C. S. P., Venetian XV, p.80; Lindley, Trials. Those scholars who have addressed the issue of the exposed female chest in English Renaissance cultural production, often take this 1597 description of Elizabeth I as a starting point.

She was strangely attired in a dress of silver cloth, white and crimson ... She kept the front of her dress open, and one could see the whole of her bosom, and passing low, and often she would open the front of this robe with her hands as if she was too hot.

Description by the ambassador of Henri IV to the English court; cited in Louis Montrose, 'Shaping Fantasies', pp.66-7; Lindley Trials, pp.7-8. L'Estoile describes a royal banquet at Chenonceau in 1577;

'les dames les plus belles et les plus honnestes de la Cour, estant à moitié nues et ayant les cheveux espars commes espousées, furent employées à faire le service'; Madeleine Lazard, 'Le Corps Vêtu', p.91, citing L'Estoile, 15 May 1577.

⁷⁵ This costume has not been unequivocally identified as used in performance; Orgel and Strong, I, pp.152-3.

⁷⁶ Chirelstein examines the classical influence of the exposure of the female body within Jacobean aristocratic art and concludes that the portrait of Elizabeth Pope which displays her draped in classical mantle with a single breast almost exposed is extremely unusual. She traces it to William Hole's engraving for the title page of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), the figure of Great Britian with heavily embroidered classical drape and one breast exposed; Ellen Chirelstein, 'Lady Elizabeth Pope', p.39.

⁷⁷ Ellen Chirelstein, 'Lady Elizabeth Pope', p.58.

⁷⁸ She cites Isaac Oliver's *Unknown Woman as Flora*, (c.1610); Ellen Chirelstein, 'Lady Elizabeth Pope', p.58.

⁷⁹ Fumerton, pp.67-85.

⁸⁰ Lindley, *Trials*, reprints the pamphlet, plate 7.

⁸¹ Patrick Hannay, *Second Elegie*, in *The Nightingale, Sheretine and Mariana. A happy Husband. Elegies on the death of Queene Anne. Songs and sonnets* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1622), p.201.

⁸² Aileen Ribiero cites Taylor's *A Glasse for Gentlewomen to dresse themselves by* (1624) who attacks women for baring 'their armes beyond that which is fit for every one to behold' and points out that although women had worn very tight sleeves the flesh of their arms had not been revealed since classical antiquity - 'the bare arm was ... what the ankle was to the Victorians'; Aileen Ribiero, *Dress and Morality* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1986), p.82, citing Taylor, p.28.

⁸³ Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections', p.299; Purkiss, p.205

⁸⁴ Sir Walter Raleigh makes a reference to this myth only to dismiss it; 'but that they [Amazons] cut off the right dug of the breast, I doe not find to be true'; *The Discoverie ... of Guiana* (New York: Argonaut Press, 1971), cited in Louis Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', p.202.

⁸⁵ Louis Montrose, 'Shaping Fantasies', p.67. Another foreign description cited by Montrose states that Elizabeth I's 'bosom was uncovered, as all English ladies have it till they marry'; Louis Montrose, 'Shaping Fantasies', p.67.

⁸⁶ Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections', pp.293-319; Stephen Orgel, 'Jonson and the Amazons', pp.119-39; Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's *Queens*', pp.246-50.

⁸⁷ Noting that 'Representations of the Amazon are ubiquitous in Elizabethan texts', Montrose identifies the figure of the Amazon as a fantasy trope of Renaissance England; Louis Montrose 'Shaping Fantasies', p.70.

⁸⁸ Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", pp.184-5.

⁸⁹ Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections', p.300; Herford and Simpson, X, pp.497-8; Louis Montrose, 'Shaping Fantasies', p.325, note 6; Stephen Orgel, 'Jonson and the Amazons', p.123.

⁹⁰ Mary Stuart was accused of murdering her second husband, Darnley, and his paternity of James VI was cast into doubt by his non-attendance at the child's baptism; Jenny Wormald, Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure (London: George Philips, 1988), p.12, p.161.

⁹¹ Stephen Orgel, 'Jonson and the Amazons', pp.125-6.

⁹² Purkiss provides the most nuanced analysis of James's own interests in the figure of the witch; Purkiss, pp.199-230.

⁹³ Margaret Maurer, 'Reading Ben Jonson's Queens', p.260.

⁹⁴ Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections', p.294.

⁹⁵ Schwarz discusses the assimilation of femininities within figures of Medusa and Pallas Athena, personated by Anne herself in Daniel's The Vision; Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections', p.307. Orgel points out that Jonson's chosen source text for the figure of Perseus is Conti's Mythologia where, 'to find his heroine, he would have had to look not under Peseus, who is not listed in the index, but under *Medusa* and *Gorgones* - under feminine evil, not masculine virtue'; Stephen Orgel, 'Jonson and the Amazons', p.128.

⁹⁶ Purkiss, pp.202-6.

⁹⁷ Sherry Ortner, 'Is Male to Female as Culture is to Nature?', p.84.

⁹⁸ Suzanne Gossett, "'Man-maid, Begone!'", pp.96-113.

⁹⁹ Schwarz gestures in this direction; Kathryn Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections', p.313.

¹⁰⁰ Strong charts the rise of Henry's patronage and interest in performance and the dissolution of his court after his death, Strong, Henry, Prince of Wales, pp.138-83, pp.220-25; Clare McManus, 'Marriage - Real and Representational', pp.23-54.

¹⁰¹ Only very scant records of this masque remain; although single examples of both scenic and costume designs survive, the transcript is remarkably undescriptive of either scenery or action and little documentation exists from which to fill these gaps; Orgel and Strong, I, pp.229-37.

¹⁰² Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.230.

¹⁰³ Referring to the creation of Charles as Prince of Wales in November 1616, John Chamberlain writes in a letter to Dudley Carleton dated 9 November 1616 that 'the Quene would not be present at the creation, lest she should renew her grieffe by the memorie of the last Prince'; McClure, II, p.32.

¹⁰⁴ Sir John Chamberlain, writing to Dudley Carleton on 10 June 1613 states that
The Quene is not yet returned from the Bath or thereabout having ben at Bristow, and receved great entertainment at divers places with which and the countrie sports they make her she is so pleased that yt is thought she will make many more such progresses.

McClure, I, pp.456-7; Limon, pp.98-99. For the Bristol progress entertainments, see A relation of the Royall, Magnificent, and Sumptuous Entertainment Given to the High and Mighty Princesse Anne, at the Renowned Citie of Bristoll (London: 1613).

¹⁰⁵ Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', p.90.

¹⁰⁶ Parry sees Henry's engagement with the masque genre as the enactment of a second model of authority and the performance of a second court coterie, neglecting Anne's role in the dynamic of courtly performance; Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', p.93.

¹⁰⁷ Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', p.98.

¹⁰⁸ Clare McManus, 'Marriage - real and representational', pp.3-9. Strong, Henry Prince of Wales, pp.138-83. The Inns of Court masques included Beaumont's Masque of Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, in Spencer and Wells, pp.125-49.

¹⁰⁹ Lewalski, 'Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness', in Politics of Discourse, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (London: University of California Press, 1987), pp.52-77:-

After 1610, the queen and her ladies were much less prominent as masquers: several masques planned by the queen were "postponed" or canceled, and there is a clear shift to men's masques, tilts, and barriers when Prince Henry came of age to present masques with his attendants. Later the king's male favorites took over that function.

(p.59).

This withdrawal is supported by the cancellation of a female masque of amazons in 1618. John Chamberlain describes the context of this performance in a letter to Dudley Carleton of 3 January 1618;

There was a maske of nine Ladies in hand at theyre owne cost, wherof the principall was the Lady Hays as Quene of the Amazons accompanied by her sister the Lady Dorothea, Sir Robert and Sir Harry Riches Ladies, Mistris Isabella Rich, Mistris West the Lord Delawares daughter, Mistris Barbara Sidney, Sir Humfrie Mayes Lady, and the Lady Care daughter to Sir Harbert Crofts: they had taken great paines in continuall practising, and were almost perfect and all theyre implements provided, but whatsoever the cause was, neither the Quene nor King did like or allow of yt and so all is dasht.

McClure, II, p.126. In the light of the performance of The Masque of Queens in 1609, the cancellation of a masque of amazons is an evocative step.

¹¹⁰ Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', p.108.

¹¹¹ Strong, Henry, Prince of Wales, p.106; Lewalski, p.98.

¹¹² J.D. Alsop speculates that Anne's commission was part of an effort to license foreign fishing in British coastal waters and to gain the monopoly for those licenses; 'Apparently, she was associated with this scheme from the very beginning'; 'William Welwood, Anne of Denmark and the Sovereignty of the Sea', S. H. R., 59 (1980), 171-4, 172. This also associates Anne with the kind of debate over maritime sovereignty which ensued between James I and Christian IV; Ronald M. Meldrum (ed.), Translations and Facsimiles of the Original Latin Letters of King James I of England (IV of Scotland) to his Royal Brother-in-Law, King Christian IV of Denmark (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), pp.175-9, pp.181-3, pp.186-7; David Armitage, University of Princeton, 'How Britannia Came to Rule the Waves: Maritime Ideology in Early Modern Britain' (unpublished conference paper, 1997).

¹¹³ Lewalski, p.98.

¹¹⁴ The other seven women to whom the poem is dedicated are Princess Elizabeth; Arbella Stuart; Susan Bertie Grey, Countess of Kent; Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke; Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland; Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, and Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk; Jacqueline Pearson, 'Women Writers and Women Readers: The Case of Aemilia Lanier', in Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing, ed. by Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen and Suzanne Trill (Keele: Keele University Press, 1996), pp.45-54.

¹¹⁵ Lewalski states that Russell is the organiser of the 1617 masque, Lovers Made Men; Lewalski, p.99; see chapter four for a discussion of her role as the organiser of Cupid's Banishment.

¹¹⁶ Cupid's Banishment, which I will analyse in detail in the next chapter, is danced by schoolgirls outside Whitehall.

¹¹⁷ David Lindley, Thomas Campion (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986); Lindley, The Court Masque; Lindley, Trials. Purkiss, pp.214-25; Davies, Thomas Campion, pp.263-84; for Jonson's difficulties and contextual information see David Lindley, 'Embarrassing Ben'; Martin Butler and David Lindley, 'Restoring Astraea', pp.807-27.

¹¹⁸ Chamberlain to Carleton, 25 November 161, in Chambers, III, p.246.

¹¹⁹ Chambers, III, p.277.

¹²⁰ Sir John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 10 February 1614, in McClure, I, p.507.

¹²¹ Lindley, Trials, p.84.

¹²² In The Lord Hay's Masque trees are transformed into masquers, while The Lords' Masque brings female statues to life. All references to the text of Somerset will refer to Davies, Thomas Campion, pp.263-84.

¹²³ Lindley, Thomas Campion, pp. 232-3; McGowan, L'Art du ballet de cour en France, p.72; for the motif of reanimation under the monarch's gaze, see in particular Le Ballet Vandosme and Le Ballet de Renaud, in Lacroix, II, pp.237-70, pp.97-136.

¹²⁴ Lindley, Thomas Campion, p.229.

¹²⁵ Gurr, Shakespearian Playing Companies, p.352.

¹²⁶ Lindley identifies this masque as sponsored by Thomas Howard, Robert Cecil and his brother Thomas, Earl of Exeter; Lindley, Trials, p.129; Lindley, Thomas Campion, p.176; David Lindley, 'Who Paid for Campion's Lord Hay's Masque?', Notes and Queries (1979), pp.144-5. Parry describes and analyses Campion's Lord Hay's Masque; Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', pp.87-117. Campion was sponsored by Sir Thomas Monson, who was under the protection of the Howards; Lindley, Thomas Campion, p.129.

¹²⁷ Davies lists the masquers and their allegiances; pp.212-3, p.246. Chamberlain's description of the reception of Somerset is rather unflattering:

I heare litle or no commendation of the maske made by the Lords that night, either for devise or dauncing, only yt was rich and costly. The maskers were the Duke of Lennox, the earles of Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset and Salisburie, the Lord Walden with his three brethren Sir Thomas, Henry, and Sir Charles Howard, the Lord Scroope, Lord North and Lord Hays.

McClure, I, p.496.

¹²⁸ Martin Butler and David Lindley, 'Restoring Astraea', pp.807-27.

¹²⁹ My interpretation of this masque is opposed to that of Limon, who sees it as flattering Anne and suggests that she may have indeed been the masque's sponsor; Limon, pp.174-5.

¹³⁰ John Chamberlain writes to Dudley Carleton, 11 November 1613:

The marriage was thought shold be celebrated at Audley-end the next weeke, great preparation there was to receve the King, but I heare that the Quene being won and having promissed to be present, yt is put of till Christmas and then to be performed at White-hall.

McClure, I, p.485.

¹³¹ Lindley, Thomas Campion, p.226.

¹³² Lindley gestures in this direction when he says that

what gives Campion's work its most daring quality is that the power of enchantment is destroyed by the Queen [...] One can only imagine with what gritted teeth Anne performed the ceremony (or with what bated breaths the audience waited to see what she would do).

Lindley, Trials, pp.138-9.

¹³³ Lindley, Thomas Campion, pp.220-1.

¹³⁴ Lindley, Thomas Campion, p.216.

¹³⁵ Beaumont, The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, in Spencer and Wells, p.139; Jonson, Beauty, in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.61-74; see chapter two for my analysis of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue.

¹³⁶ Jonson, Blackness, in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp. 47-60; Beauty, in Complete Masques, pp.61-74.

¹³⁷ Campion's remarks in the published text highlight the transgression of the conventional working practices of collaborative masque production, and in so doing help to establish what those practices might have been. It is clear that the scenic design and execution was not under Campion's control, but that from his earlier collaborations with Inigo Jones in The Lords' Masque he was accustomed to a more interactive working relationship with his designer; Campion, Somerset, in Davies, Thomas Campion, p.268. For further information on de Servi's position and practice within the English court, see John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones and the Florentine Court Theater', John Donne Journal, 5 (1986), 200-34 (pp.224-6).

¹³⁸ Campion, Somerset, in Davies, Thomas Campion, p.270.

¹³⁹ The female masquers personate the rivers of Scotland, England and Wales; Samuel Daniel, Tethys' Festival, in Orgel and Strong, I, p.193, 7-21.

¹⁴⁰ For the gendering of images of water and fluidity, see Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories', pp.126-7; Siddiqui 'Dark Incontinents', pp.143-6.

¹⁴¹ John Orrell publishes the description; John Orrell, 'The Agent of Savoy at The Somerset Masque', Review of English Studies, n.s. 28 (1977), 301-4.

¹⁴² The emblem depicts Anne herself as the olive tree, and her three surviving children as the fruit which will 'In time o'respread Europa's continent'. Henry Peacham, Minerva Britanna or a Garden of Heroical Deuises, furnished, and adorned with Emblemes and Impresa's of sundry natures (London: Wa: Dight, 1612), emblem 13.

¹⁴³ Holy Bible, Authorised King James Edition, 1611; Romans, I, 11:20; Peter Davidson, The Vocal Forest A Study of the Context of Three Low Countries Printers' Devices of the Seventeenth Century (Leiden: Academic Press, 1996), pp.52-3.

¹⁴⁴ Mary Stuart's embroidery is discussed in Parker, p.77; Bath, p.17; see chapter four, 'Embroidery and dance: staging the physical text', 'The embroidery of text'. The Medici imprese is identified and interpreted in Davidson, p.38.

¹⁴⁵ Illness kept Anne away from the performance of Lord Hay's Masque; Chambers, III, p.241.

¹⁴⁶ Blackness, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.57, 245; D.J. Gordon, 'The Imagery of Ben Jonson's The Masque of Blacknesse and The Masque of Beautie', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 8 (1945), 107-45; Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.107.

¹⁴⁷ Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.1-30.

¹⁴⁸ Davidson, p.32.

¹⁴⁹ Campion, Somerset, in Davies, Thomas Campion, p.265.

¹⁵⁰ Jonson, Beauty, in Orgel, Complete Masques, p.61, 10-13.

¹⁵¹ Lindley, Thomas Campion, p.233.

¹⁵² Orgel, Complete Masques, p.126, 105-19. Purkiss, pp.202-3.

¹⁵³ Fradenburg, p.79.

¹⁵⁴ Lindley, Thomas Campion, pp.243; Purkiss, pp.215-6.

¹⁵⁵ Torquato Tasso, Jerusalem Delivered, trans. by Edward Fairfax with an introduction by Roberto Weiss (London: Centaur Press, 1962).

¹⁵⁶ For further information and detailed analysis, see Clare McManus, 'The Figure of Circe and Female Representation in the French *ballet de cour* (1581-1617)', (unpublished MA paper, University of Warwick, 1994).

¹⁵⁷ McGowan, L'Art du Ballet de Cour, p.104; Strong, Splendour, p.56.

¹⁵⁸ Catherine de Parthenay, Madame de Rohan, Le Balet de Madame, Le Balet de Madame de Rohan, Autre Balet Representé Devant Madame à Pau le 23 Jour D'Aoust 1592, in Marcel Pacquot (ed.), 'Comédies-ballets représentées en l'honneur de Madame, soeur du roi Henri IV', in Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, 10 (1931), 969-95.

¹⁵⁹ D.H. Willson's dismissal of Anne as 'a stupid wifel' is only the most extreme of these cases; Willson, p.95. Davies categorises Frances Howard as a conniving and sinister murderess; Davies, Thomas Campion, p.264.

¹⁶⁰ Lewalski, pp.95-9.

¹⁶¹ Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', pp.191-2.

¹⁶² Orgel, 'Introduction', in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.4-5.

¹⁶³ Anne Burghley has identified the extensive connections between the performers of this masque and the Howard family. Though Burghley's article relies heavily upon received notions of the history of the Jacobean court, and her inability to relate morality to contemporary situations rather than to regard it as a universal leads her to equate female political engagement with dubiety, her research into the family connections of those involved in the performance of The Masque of Blackness is illuminating. Anne Burghley, 'Courtly Personages', pp.49-61.

¹⁶⁴ James Knowles, 'Toys and Boys'.

Chapter 4. 'We can no more express than we already have': memory, speech and silence in Robert White's Cupid's Banishment.

One of the few certain facts about Cupid's Banishment is its performance on 4 May 1617. Little direct documentation survives of this masque beyond the single manuscript copy preserved by one of its performers, Richard Browne who played the role of Diana.¹ There are no eyewitness descriptions, no detail of audience composition, no account references such as fill the gaps in our knowledge of other masque performances. Yet, notwithstanding this scarcity and the masque's elision from the cultural criticism of Jacobean court entertainments, Cupid's Banishment is a document of immense importance for the assessment of the emergent practice of female performance. Robert White's masque, though insubstantial and derivative, is also a statement of feminine intent. Staged for Anne of Denmark, inspired and organised by Lucy Harington Russell, and performed by members of the first recorded English girls' school, Cupid's Banishment may also record the first and unique instance of female masquing speech within the Jacobean reign. It is also the last masque performance with which Queen Anne is known to have been involved, either as a performer or spectator, before her death in 1619.

My starting point is the assertion in the list of performers, 'Mistress Ann Watkins acted Fortune' (p.83), the only use of this term for a female performer in this masque. This is followed within the masque text itself by a unique instance of female

masquing speech, which the manuscript and all subsequent editions credit to 'Fortune':

We are engaged to Time for this occasion
 That meets our wishes with such good success.
 For this great courtesy I'll create
 Some unexpected joy to crown thy hours,
 Thy minutes, I'll so turn upon this wheel of mine
 That men hereafter shall call thee happy Time.
 Hymen, Mercury, how welcome you are hither.
 We can no more express than we already have.
 (p.85, 139-46).

Ann Watkins is perhaps the first woman to act in a masque. Invoking Mercury's eloquence, the final line of this short speech is a modest but confident assertion of the power of female expression.

At first glance this speech may seem to be an incongruous step beyond the bounds placed upon the masquing performances of courtly women, and one which, as the final masque in which Queen Anne was involved, is quickly retracted. My aim is to show that this is not the case. To do this, I will map out the ways in which the speech of Fortune is an integral part of the tradition of Jacobean female masquing; furthermore, I will suggest that both this speech and Cupid's Banishment itself form the logical endpoint of the ongoing destabilising of the confines of female silence within the masque genre. The outcome of this agenda is that my chapter will deal less with the content of Fortune's speech itself than with the factors, processes and conditions which make this speech possible in its particular cultural moment.

The obscurity of this masque also hides the identity of perhaps the first woman to speak within a masque. Very little can be unearthed about Ann Watkins, except the possibility that she is the sister of Alice, another masquer, and the daughter of David Watkins, the Controller of Works at Windsor Castle from 1618.² Though the mystery remains unsolved, we can at least relate her social position to that of the other performers from the Ladies Hall at Deptford. The first recorded girls' school in England, the Ladies Hall is pivotally positioned between the home-based strategies employed to educate the daughters of the Tudor elite in the discourse of high humanistic learning and the later dame schools which educated the daughters of the citizenry in the skills of dance, needlework and etiquette. That its existence is recorded solely within the transcript of White's masque demonstrates the interrelation between female performance and a more general feminine cultural and social agency. Much of this chapter will be dedicated to an examination of the conceptual and ideological nature of this educative process and its impact upon the performative actuality of this masque.

The title page of the manuscript informs the reader that the masque took place at Anne's court at Greenwich. Shifting the site of Jacobean court performance away from Whitehall and beyond the London city limits, this liminal positioning is also reflected in the marginal status of the female performers themselves in relation to the court. While they are admitted to courtly performance, they differ from so many of the earlier female masquers in being peripheral to the centre of power; their performance interrogates the definition of aristocracy and court membership. As a performative document, Cupid's Banishment can be read as a statement of Anne's marginalisation

and her withdrawal from performance in an out-of-court production removed from the centre of power: equally, it can be taken as evidence of the shift in the locus of this power away from the court at Whitehall at a time when performance within that court had been appropriated by the male favourites of King James. The production of a masque performed by female masquers before their queen in her own court at Greenwich radically alters the agenda of praise of the monarch, deflecting it from James I (absent on progress to Scotland) and towards his consort. I will suggest that Anne's withdrawal from performance and her unprecedented assumption of the coveted centre point of power at the head of the hierarchy of the masquing hall are sophisticated temporary performative compensations for the Queen's failed bid for the regency.

In Cupid's Banishment, Anne and the coterie of culturally engaged women around her interrogate the very notion of the masque genre as court masque. The positioning of the performance in Anne's Greenwich court and the participation of the schoolgirls of the Ladies Hall challenges the nature of a genre that can exist and be staged within the confines of the court and also questions the nature of the court itself. The exclusivity of the Jacobean court, the insularity reflected in the arenas it chose to stage its masques, is threatened by the inclusion of those on and beyond its margins, women and the non-elite.

Cupid's Banishment is perhaps the first masque within which a woman takes a speaking role. I will set this moment of unprecedented female speech within the context both of White's masque itself and of the progression towards female linguistic

expression that has been taking place throughout female involvement in the Jacobean court masque, discussed in chapters two and three. Examining the ways (performative, political and social) that female speech is fostered and prepared for, I will establish a precedent for the move towards female expression in the physical and kinetic texts of figured dance and embroidery. I hope to show that this approach to speech is not incongruous but is instead the result of this ongoing process, the effects of which are manifested in this speech and in the danced and visual texts of this masque. I will suggest that Cupid's Banishment, the final masque of Anne's court, memorialises the masquing tradition of the Jacobean court in the performance of figured dance and embroidery and motifs of gift-giving, remembrance, speech and silence.

4 May 1617: the performance of politics.

As so often when dealing with the court masque genre, the specific historical moment is intensely relevant to an analysis of events within the masquing hall. Indeed, it is specifically the performance of politics, rather than the impinging of the political situation upon that performance, that is the focus of this study. Cupid's Banishment is not merely a passive reaction to a specific political moment, it is an active incorporation of that instance within performance: the masque genre exists to impact upon the political situation, it is a tool through which that moment is approached and affected.

The major political action addressed within this section is itself primarily performative. Queen Anne's appropriation of the position of privileged spectator is the symbolic enactment of the move towards political engagement that she also attempts within Jacobean courtly society. The role of privileged spectator was one reserved uniquely for the monarch, who is literally placed at the head of the court hierarchy. At no other point during the Jacobean court masque does anyone other than James I assume this position.³ In the light of the exclusivity of James's position, Anne's assumption of the role is telling. The dynamics of her symbolic approach to the coveted centre point of power and the debt it owes to the political situation will be examined below.

That Anne effects such an appropriation of the ritual position of power is significant in itself, but the political and performative ramifications of this symbolic

act are especially so. I shall examine Anne's attempt, focusing on the social and cultural context to this performative act of appropriation. As a performance document, Cupid's Banishment itself can be read as a statement of Anne's marginalisation in an out-of-court production: equally, it can be taken as evidence of the shift in the locus of power away from the Whitehall court. Part and parcel of this duality is the fact that the masque is itself simultaneously an enactment of authority and an attempt to fashion power through performative display (witness the wish-fulfilment of Hymenaei's representation of British unity).⁴ I shall examine the currents of power within Jacobean court society in May 1617, relating these conditions to their performance within Cupid's Banishment itself.

In 1617 James I made his long awaited and controversial progress to his native Scotland. The impact of the King's absence upon the performance of Cupid's Banishment cannot be overstated. James's absence was lengthy; he left London on 14 March, arrived at Edinburgh on 16 May and returned to London in September.⁵ The expedition was not favoured by either English or Scots. The city of Edinburgh was not financially well-placed to receive the King, and the English crown was itself overburdened by the effort to fund such a progress. In addition there was religious controversy: the Scottish church leaders demanded a commitment to a more extreme Protestant viewpoint than the compromise-driven James was willing to give.⁶

The absence of the monarch, whose body is the symbol of Stuart absolute authority, leaves a vacuum at the geographical and symbolic centre of power. Highlighting the delegation of the absent monarch's authority, on this occasion the

issue of eligibility to rule was especially controversial in the light of Anne's failed bid to gain the regency for herself. On 4 January 1617, only months before the performance of Cupid's Banishment, Chamberlain writes, 'The Queen has been sick of the gout. She is said to aim at the regency if the King goes to Scotland.'⁷ Though the seriousness of this bid has long been negated by historians, it is by no means improbable. Domestic precedents exist; both Catherine of Aragon and Catherine Parr (also prominent in the discourse of female education) acted as regents in the absence of Henry VIII, the former even organising the defence against the Scots in 1513.⁸ The aspirations of Queen Anne, the first woman in many years to engage with the rare position of queen consort, mirror those of her most recent predecessors.

Given her experience in the Scottish and Danish courts, Anne is open to influences beyond the English. As discussed in chapter one, Queen Sophia's bid to rule Denmark and Norway is a model for her daughter in later life. Anne's intense consciousness of her own status as queen, makes her bid for the regency a natural extension of her role as queen consort, as the subject who partakes of the sovereign's authority.⁹ This consciousness was apparently not shared by her husband; perhaps influenced by Anne's Catholicism, James established a council of six to rule in his absence, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the staunchly Protestant Lord Bacon the Lord Keeper as its practical heads.¹⁰ Both Anne and Prince Charles were nominated to the council, but outside observers seem to consider her inclusion as token. 30 March finds the Venetian ambassador writing this report:

After the Archbishop of Canterbury he [Bacon] is the first person of the Council, which in the king's absence will decide all the affairs of the kingdom. The queen was expected to take part in it frequently, but

I do not believe that she will ever go there, as she proposes to pass the whole time out of London, and the prince will do much the same.¹¹

The exclusion of the queen consort from the structures of court power is based in James's own conceptualisation of Stuart authority through the gendered model of the patriarchal family.¹² Anne's attempt to reassert herself through a temporary assumption of the practical role of the patriarch is primarily a questioning of the authority of the absent king, and so, by extension, of the gendered structures of power itself. This challenge, as will become increasingly apparent, is mirrored in the symbolic assumption of the position of the patriarch within Cupid's Banishment.

Despite the low expectations surrounding Anne's dealings with the Council, when Anne removed to Greenwich Palace during James's progress all the evidence suggests that most of the influential courtiers followed her there. On 24 May 1617, Chamberlain reports that

Most of the Council keep [at Greenwich] about [the Queen], saving such as have necessary attendance at the term, and those come still on Saturday night and tarry Sunday. The rest are only absent on Star Chamber days, which have been few or none this term ...¹³

Supporting this is George Gerrard's report, on 9 May 1617, that Anne 'stays at Greenwich and never missed one Lent sermon. The Prince and Council came to them also.'¹⁴ What reasons might there be for the court to cluster around the Queen at Greenwich Palace?

Greenwich itself may provide something of an answer. Set on the Thames five miles east of St. Paul's, Greenwich Palace was positioned beyond the boundaries of

what was then London but, as implied above, within easy commuting distance for those who needed to move between the two.¹⁵ A retreat from the city, Greenwich Palace was not a complete withdrawal from the court, its geographical and cultural position is a liminal one; though situated outside the centre of court power in Westminster, it is itself a site for the fostering of courtly culture. The presence of a flourishing court at Greenwich challenges Whitehall's existence as the sole site of power. Significantly, it also suggests Anne's own liminal position within the court hegemony: as a woman in an age of reaction against female rule, the alien queen consort stands on the boundaries of the centre of power.¹⁶

The status of the Queen's court at Greenwich reveals the fractured nature of the Jacobean court; the late Prince Henry's oppositional court at St. James and Anne's entourage and their performances at both Somerset House and Greenwich Palace are rival centres of courtly power to Whitehall.¹⁷ Cupid's Banishment interrogates the notion of the masque as *court* masque within a primarily female community attenuated by the presence of male masters and performers. The women of the Ladies Hall move as a community from the feminine space of the Ladies Hall to that of the Queen's court in order to perform there. In many ways this is reminiscent of the performance tradition of the Italian Renaissance convents and English Catholic girls' schools on the Continent, themselves female communities and sites of female learning and performance, and an interesting continental (and Catholic) counterpart to the activities of these British performers.¹⁸

Prince Charles' role is an issue of great importance and equal uncertainty to Cupid's Banishment. An important distinction between the respective regency bids of Anne and her mother is that Charles was not in his minority, as was Christian IV, but had already been inaugurated as Prince of Wales. Given James's absence and Anne's bid for power, the whereabouts of the heir become increasingly relevant, especially given Anne's earlier struggle for proximity to Prince Henry.¹⁹ One thing is certain, Charles was not in Scotland; despite his enthusiasm, his father had refused his company and was instead attended by the Earl of Buckingham.²⁰ It seems that Charles may have instead accompanied his mother; Gerrard's letter confirms that he was present at Greenwich in the weeks surrounding the performance of Cupid's Banishment but the duration of his stay is uncertain. However, the Venetian secretary's comments, dated 27 April 1617 - 'The Council meets frequently at Greenwich, where the queen generally lies. The prince is going there tomorrow to stay some weeks' - make Charles' presence at the masque performance a distinct possibility.²¹ The Prince's presence at Greenwich is perhaps a motivation for the court to be there, yet the very proximity of the heir to Anne is a testament to her influence.

Evidence for audience composition at the performance of Cupid's Banishment is effectively non-existent; the evidence to establish the presence of members of the royal family or court is simply not available. Internal evidence is also inconclusive and can be used to support alternate suppositions: although the dancing of Charles' name may suggest his attendance, James's name is danced in his certain absence. It is reasonable, however, to expect the patron of the masque, Lucy Russell, and other favoured ladies to have been present. Although it is likely, as McGee suggests, that

the parents of the amateur female performers were present, the performance of appropriated court ritual in the presence of a Queen takes on the significance of state theatre.²²

Bacon's installation as nominal head of state in James's absence is significant. Although Anthony Weldon's account of Bacon's unofficial regency is clearly coloured by his own agenda, the ceremonial surrounding Bacon, described as the usurpation of sovereign ritual, is an interesting commentary on those dedicated to Anne. Only days after the staging of Cupid's Banishment, Bacon, as new Lord Keeper, rode in state to Westminster attended by all the followers of the Queen and Prince.²³ Such entries are not the exclusive domain of the monarch; Bacon establishes the plausibility of the appropriation of state ritual, of which the court masque is part. In such a context, the appropriation of the position occupied by the monarch in the masque ritual is loaded with political significance.

While James I was regaled by progress entertainments on his way to his entry into Edinburgh, Anne was the focus of the court ritual of Cupid's Banishment and Bacon was appropriating state ceremonial in London.²⁴ The ceremonies of statescraft are multi-focused, circling not only around the monarch but centring also upon other, lesser figures of authority. Cupid's Banishment is at once both an out-of-court performance and a deflected court ceremonial, a re-alignment of a court performance to centre that cultural expression upon an alternative authority figure.

Lucy Harington Russell and the appropriation of the masculine role.

The force of the motif (and motive) of the appropriation of masculine state ritual is also manifested in the patronage of Lucy, Countess of Bedford. White's dedicatory letter to Cupid's Banishment lauds Lucy Russell as his masque's patron and inspiration; 'duty herein only excuses me from presumption. I thought it injustice to devote the fruits which your honour first sowed, to any but your self,' (p.83). The details of Russell's connections with the Ladies Hall are unclear; White's text, however, establishes a bond between courtier and school, depicting Russell as the organising force of the performance and the impetus behind the schoolgirls' journey between Deptford and Greenwich. This journey is akin to that of the Inns of Court, a male educational establishment itself existing on the boundaries of the court, into Whitehall to masque before James I. The journey to Anne's Greenwich court is a parallel to mainstream Whitehall-centred court ceremonial, deflected to honour Anne within her own structures of authority.

Within the structures of the Queen's court, Russell is a female courtier to Queen Anne, fashioned in conscious parallel to the King's favourites.²⁵ As organiser of this masque, Russell's role corresponds to those of the male statesmen who patronised the performances of the Inns of Court. Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple (1613) has a dedicatory letter in which Bacon is honoured for his patronage, much as White praises Russell.²⁶ The debt owed to Russell's authority within the staging of Cupid's Banishment establishes her as an equivalent to the male courtier,

aligning her with the male power-brokers of the Jacobean court through the feminine appropriation of the structures of power and patronage.

The duplication of masculine court ritual, refocused around the female Greenwich court, is also asserted in the necessary presence of male performers. An explanation of the participation of the King's professional entertainment staff as a result of the amateur status of the female performers, although plausible, does not take into account either the status of Queen Anne, nor the amateur status of the courtiers or the members of the Inns of Court involved in other court masques. Ignoring the dance training received at the Ladies Hall, commentators prefer instead to align the female with the domestic and private rather than with the public and performative. James I's staff leave Whitehall and enter Anne's court in order to perform - a significant act in itself. Cupid's Banishment is a replication of masculine court ritual which utilises the juxtaposition of male and female performers of the masque of the mainstream court to adhere to the decorum of courtly performance.

Lucy Harington Russell occupied a position of importance and influence within the circles surrounding Queen Anne. Probably the most prominent member of Anne's coterie, Russell had been the closest lady-in-waiting in influence to the Queen ever since she and her mother, Lady Anne Harington, won Anne's favour in their dash to the Scottish border to meet the new queen in 1603.²⁷ Russell depended for her influence upon her own family connections, rather than those of her husband; her parents were the guardians of Princess Elizabeth, her brother John had been an intimate friend of Prince Henry.²⁸ Through her husband's family, however, she was

also linked to the influential and culturally engaged Cooke sisters.²⁹ Tina Krontiris identifies the position of lady-in-waiting as ‘part of the larger system of patronage [...] a sign of royal favour towards the family of the young woman’: through her court position and in her role as dedicatee of Cupid’s Banishment, Russell is deeply implicated in this system of patronage.³⁰ Perhaps the most honoured of Anne’s women, she completes the cycle of the exchange of favour with the offering of Cupid’s Banishment to her queen.

Although direct evidence of her education is not available, Russell was a literate and educated woman.³¹ Cupid’s Banishment is not the first masque in which Anne was involved for which Russell had acted as patron, that was Daniel’s Vision (1604), the first true masque of the Stuart court in England.³² The years between these masques span the political and performative careers of the two most influential women of the Stuart court. Russell last masques in Queens (1609), but she is a masque organiser well into 1617.³³ Russell’s engagement with the masque is extensive, closely following that of the queen to whom her own performance paid homage.

The Vision and Cupid’s Banishment do not map perfectly onto each other, however. The roles adopted by Anne and Lucy Russell and the gift-giving in the presentation of the masque from patron to monarch are intensified in Anne’s withdrawal from performance and assumption of the position of privileged spectator. The textual structure of Cupid’s Banishment’s production ratifies Russell’s assumption of the fathering-by-proxy of the masque through the act of patronage. This

act also creates a bond between the Countess and the Queen, based upon the exchange of homage and favour in the gift of the masque, that is part of the dynamics of a female counterpart to the court of the King.

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Anne's enthronement as privileged spectator is simultaneously a withdrawal from active performance and the assumption of James I's position as a complementary spectacle to the masque itself. The sparse records that surround Cupid's Banishment communicate no controversy at this female occupation of the patriarchal seat of power. Perhaps this lack of comment, with her failure to become regent, signals a lessening in the impact of Anne's masquing and of her political influence. Perhaps no one of importance was present at the performance. However, the evidence renders this unlikely; Anne was surrounded at Greenwich by the most powerful of the court. Given the progressive marginalisation of female performance in favour of masculine state ritual in the second decade of the seventeenth century, it is possible that Cupid's Banishment is simply a temporary upturn in Anne's masquing fortunes. Yet the lack of scandal surrounding this performance perhaps more positively demonstrates the passing of the most controversial moment of female masquing: there is none of the uproar that surrounded Blackness, and the recriminations that will surround Henrietta Maria's acting remain in the future.

James's rare absence relieves otherwise irreconcilable tensions found in other masque performances. Although Anne withdraws from actual performance, in

occupying the physical space left by his legitimate absence, the duplication of masculine state ritual appropriates the monarch's authority. The masquing careers of both Anne and Henry demonstrate that this propensity for appropriation is not merely a result of James's absence but a quality of the masque itself. However, Anne's assumption of the position of the husband and father in Cupid's Banishment is primarily a questioning of the absent king's authority and so of the gendered structures of power itself. The Queen's appropriation of the patriarchal position establishes, however ephemerally, a female court in opposition to the performances of the King's favourites. After the fact of the Queen's rejection for the regency, this opposition is expressed in the symbolic assertion of her power in a sophisticated wish-fulfilment that also acts to create authority through performance. Anne's assumption of the position of privileged spectator can be read as an assertion of her power in the face of her marginalisation.

Cupid's Banishment at Greenwich: between the Tudor Palace and the Queen's House.

The liminal nature of Anne's Greenwich court on the border between the courtly and the excluded makes a closer examination of the Queen's palace necessary. Very little is known about the masque's performance conditions; there is no available scenic evidence and very little on the decor of the hall within which it was performed. The critical assumption that there would be very little scenery, partly because of the lack of description and partly because of the amateur status of the masquers, is not watertight. Yet what little information can be ascertained about the performance conditions is surprisingly revealing in terms of the cultural context of this masque.

The most likely candidate for the performance venue of Cupid's Banishment is the Disguising Theatre at Greenwich Palace. Constructed by Henry VIII to house entertainments for the French embassy of May 1527, this semi-permanent building was constructed from substantial wood and canvas.³⁴ Along with the rest of the palace, it is no longer standing, but it is known that it was in existence in 1617, ninety years after its construction.³⁵ The Disguising Theatre is the forerunner of the 1581 Whitehall Banqueting House (another semi-permanent structure built for a French embassy), which stood until 1606.³⁶ Standing at the back of the large tilt-yard and overshadowed by two large towers constructed to give a better view of the jousts, the Disguising Theatre formed part of a complex of buildings intended to house the court's entertainments. The position of the Disguising Theatre and its continued

existence into the seventeenth century is further confirmed by a painting of Greenwich Palace by an unknown artist, dating from approximately 1617 (figure 23). The theatre itself was built as part of a bi-partite structure, joined to the Banqueting House by a gallery. Simon Thurley offers a description of the buildings, comparing the interior of the Disguising Theatre to an amphitheatre because of the three tiers of seats which flanked three of the four walls.³⁷ Two thirds of the way down the room was a great arch stretching from wall to wall, decorated, among other motifs, with busts of classical emperors, the royal arms of Henry VIII and the motto 'Dieu et Mon Droit'.³⁸ Apart from this arch, the Disguising Theatre conforms to the usual configuration of the courtly masquing hall: ensconced at Greenwich, Anne is provided with all the tools needed to stage the entertainments of a rival court.

With the separation of state theatre and feasting, the theatricality of the Disguising Theatre is confirmed when the original decorations for the entertainments for the French embassy are removed and stored exactly like theatrical scenery, leaving the building as an empty shell.³⁹ Therefore, although we can claim some knowledge of the Disguising Theatre's construction and general configuration, its internal decoration scheme remains unknown.⁴⁰ What is clear though, is that Greenwich Palace is not a marginalised out-of-court situation; on the contrary, it has a long history as the chosen site for the entertainment of important political embassies and for the ceremony of state theatre. The performance of Cupid's Banishment in such surroundings reworks this tradition, contributing to the composite effect of this moment of performance. As privileged spectator, Anne is established within a

tradition of court performance which reinforces the validity of her own state ceremonial.

Built in 1503 by Robert Vertue from designs made in part by Queen Elizabeth, Greenwich Palace itself incorporates a feminine input into the very fabric of its staging.⁴¹ In 1614, James I presented Greenwich Palace to Anne.⁴² The legal fact of ownership establishes Greenwich even more firmly as the site of Anne's own quasi-autonomous authority beyond the confines of Whitehall: Greenwich is an arena for the externalisation of the Queen's self-fashioning, which takes an architectural form (among others). Earlier in the reign, due to the novelty of the accession of a queen consort, both Greenwich and Somerset House had been the subjects of new building enterprises, and Colvin states that in 1607-09 accounts of 'new lodgings' for Anne inaugurate

a series of building enterprises which were to follow one another until Queen Anne's death and to be consummated eventually in the completion of the Queen's House for Henrietta Maria in 1629-38.⁴³

In 1617, Cupid's Banishment is staged during the first phase of work on the Queen's House, a development which although strictly beyond the confines of this masque, contributes to our knowledge of its context. Designed by Inigo Jones, the Queen's House (which still stands) was commissioned by Anne of Denmark and work began in October 1616.⁴⁴ Anne's death in 1619 halted construction however, and the commission was only completed under the auspices of Henrietta Maria.⁴⁵ On 21 June 1617 Chamberlain writes that 'The Queen is building at Greenwich, after a plan of Inigo Jones; he has a design for a new Star Chamber, which the King would fain have

built, if there were money'.⁴⁶ The contrast between the measured sections of this sentence is striking; both Anne and James have a stake in commissioning architecture from Jones, but it is a commitment that only one of them is able to make good. This enactment of statescraft on a par with (and occasionally surpassing) her husband, hints at the extent of Anne's involvement in the replication of courtly magnificence.

Based on Lorenzo de Medici's villa at Poggio a Caiano, which was completed in 1485 by Giuliano da Sangallo, and further influenced by the work of Palladio and Scamozzi, Jones's design is considered the first truly classical building to be constructed in Britain.⁴⁷ Graham Parry calls this, Jones's first monumental building commission, 'the first completely modern building in England' and categorises it as a marker of Anne's engagement with the most innovative artists of her age.⁴⁸ Although there is no certainty that the building completed under Henrietta Maria replicates the original design approved by Anne, Summerson feels that the essence of the designs were unchanged.⁴⁹ Significantly, the suggestive design of the great hall, based on the cube, anticipates the Whitehall Banqueting House of 1619 by a small but significant margin:

The forty-foot cubic hall [of the Queen's House] is the first of those monumental interiors based on cubes or multiples or subdivisions of cubes which must have seemed to Jones, all through his career, to have the ineffable nobility of the absolute.⁵⁰

The great hall, intended to be constructed within the boundaries of the Queen's court at Greenwich, is the forerunner of the central site of state ritual and Jones's masterpiece. I would not suggest that the Queen's House was designed for masque performances, but the prefiguring of the structure of the masquing hall demonstrates

Anne's proximity to innovative architecture and to the masque form itself. Cupid's Banishment takes its place among Anne's many-faceted cultural engagement, and can be read in terms of her self-fashioning as a cultural and political force, through commissions which are in line with, and sometimes anticipate, the cultural policy of the mainstream Jacobean court. Though the Surveyor of the King's Works, Jones initiates his use of the architectural structure of the cube in this design for the Queen; it is only after Anne's death that it is deflected to become part of the masquing hall for the mainstream court. Given that the first surviving example of Jones's building work was done for Queen Anne, it is also striking that the majority of Jones's Caroline architectural commissions were carried out in the service of Henrietta Maria.

Cupid's Banishment, female education and the performance of state.

As the earliest known record of perhaps the first school for elite women to be established in early modern England, Cupid's Banishment has played a greater part in surveys of female education than in the analysis of Stuart court ritual. No independent record has been found of the existence of the Ladies Hall outside White's masque text. Although the school's existence is documented in the work of several historians, with no founding statutes or other records in existence the story of the documentation of the Ladies Hall is that of what is not recorded.⁵¹ White's references to the school's tradition of Candlemas festivities do imply that it was not newly founded in 1617, but no definite date can be given for its establishment.⁵² We cannot even be sure that this is in fact the first school of its kind; its very existence implies that there may be other such schools of which we are unaware. As the sole record of this school's existence, Cupid's Banishment gives a remarkable insight into the moment of its creation. The memorialisation of the Ladies Hall within the ritual of the female court validates both court and school; the masque text documents the school, and the record of female education endows a marginalised masque with a greater canonical importance. Knowledge of the status of female education is transmitted and memorialised through the equally thorny issues of female sovereignty and female performance.

In the face of the sheer void of documentation, there has been a tacit assumption that the Ladies Hall was a forerunner of the dame schools of the later seventeenth century. Enid Welsford describes the Ladies Hall as 'apparently a kind of

finishing school for aristocratic girls', but I suggest that in reality the nature of the evidence is so ambiguous as to complicate even this tentative statement.⁵³

The nature of the Ladies Hall is tied up with the social standing of its pupils. The only record of these girls comes from the list of masquers which White, himself possibly a master at the school, added to the written text.⁵⁴ As is so often the case, the majority of evidence relates to the fathers of these women, and it is hard to go substantially further than McGee in precise identifications; however, the girls appear to be the children of members of the court and court officials, but not of the inner circle of the elite.⁵⁵ Those implicated range from Scottish nobles (Anne Sandeland's father is Lord Torphicen, Sir James Sandeland) to a court musician (Mistress Oungelo is possibly the daughter of Angelo, one of the Prince's musicians).⁵⁶ Elizabeth Cranfield is the daughter of Lionel Cranfield, the future Lord Treasurer, who in 1616 was master of requests and a favourite of George Villiers.⁵⁷ Anne Chalenor, goddaughter to Queen Anne, is connected to the court through her father, Sir Thomas Chalenor, the manager of Anne's private estates, former tutor to the late Prince Henry, and, significantly, the benefactor of the grammar school of St. Bees.

The Ladies Hall stands at a pivotal point in the development of English female education. It does not conform to the Tudor model of the humanistic education of the daughters of the elite within the home of the family or guardian, but neither does it fit easily with that of the later seventeenth century dame schools and the passive "feminine" accomplishments which they taught. There follows a brief summary of the

development of female education in the years surrounding Cupid's Banishment in an attempt to place the Ladies Hall within its tradition.

Women such as Catherine Parr, Elizabeth I and Mary Tudor, the daughters of the Tudor elite, received a learned humanistic education in languages and the classics within their homes. At the very highest social level, women were profoundly implicated in educational matters; Catherine of Aragon planned Mary Tudor's education with Vives and Linacre, and Catherine Parr supervised that of Edward VI and Elizabeth I.⁵⁸ Evidence of Elizabeth's learning abounds; she composed the prayers of the Devotions in English, Latin, Greek, Italian and French and at age ten she translated Marguerite de Navarre's Mirror of the Sinful Soul. This she presented to Catherine Parr in an elaborate embroidered binding, a neat meeting of erudition and embroidery, which, as Parker remarks, aptly sums up the education of these Tudor women.⁵⁹ Sir Thomas More's educative theories, advocating an equality of male and female pupils, were influential within the Tudor court; Catherine Parr's sister, Anne, wrote to Roger Ascham describing the education that she and her sister received as modelled upon More's thoughts.⁶⁰ Of course, such equality is rarely achieved, but for Catherine of Aragon and Catherine Parr their regencies demonstrate the practical application of their learning.

This educative model operates along class distinctions, the proportion of the female population educated in this manner is extremely small indeed. Although some Tudor girls are educated in schools, these were not specifically intended for female education, their pupils were taken from a less elevated social class than the court, and

strict limitations were set on the female curriculum. The 1594 records of Banbury Grammar school which admitted both girls and boys, for example, ‘specify that while a certain number of girls would be admitted, no girls would remain “above the age of nine nor longer than they may learn to read English.”’⁶¹ Although a predecessor to the Ladies Hall in educating girls beyond the confines of the home, the backgrounds of the female pupils of the Tudor grammar school and the limitations placed upon the education they receive means that these two models are at variance with each other.

It has often been suggested that James I’s accession to the English throne coincided with a shift in attitudes towards female education. Cerasano and Wynne-Davies point out that the wives and daughters of the Stuart kings were in general not as well educated in the classical subjects as was Elizabeth I, but James took great concern over the education of Princess Elizabeth, who was tutored at home in Latin, French, Italian and music by Lord Harington (Lucy Russell’s father).⁶² The shift in the focus of female education is illustrated in the refusal of Lady Anne Clifford’s father to allow her to learn languages, and his insistence that, tutored by Samuel Daniel, she should read instead in translation. He does not however, forbid her to read at all.⁶³ It is also relevant to what I read as Anne’s validation of female education, that these wives, namely Anne of Denmark and Henrietta Maria, were continental Europeans, educated outside the English model.⁶⁴ The involvement of Anne’s parents in artistic and scientific patronage, and her own grasp of several languages, makes her acceptance of the tribute of female education wholly appropriate.

Cerasano and Wynne-Davies go on to point out that, despite the apparently negative trends set at court, 'numerous school for girls were started in the seventeenth century.'⁶⁵ In about 1615, boarding schools for girls began to appear, teaching reading, writing, music, needlework, dancing and sometimes French; the Ladies Hall is in the vanguard.⁶⁶ These schools are the models of female education in the later seventeenth century, the much-maligned dame schools which trained girls in the accomplishments of the society lady. The Ladies Hall's divergence from these schools is as important as their shared ground. Dame schools, such as that attended by Susanna Perwich, run by her mother and established in 1643, were usually patronised by the daughters of the gentry while those attending the Ladies Hall were (in one way or another) the children of the court.⁶⁷ This dichotomy between the court and those beyond its confines is an important one. The Ladies Hall exists in a liminal and transitional state; it is a forerunner of these later schools established specifically for girls, and yet it differs from them in being patronised by the court initiates whose class has hitherto guaranteed them an education.

Robert White's own position in relation to the Ladies Hall is not clear. Based on his position as masque writer and the school's defender, there has been speculation that he was in fact the headmaster. Internal evidence, such as his familiarity with commonplaces of classical and humanist learning, would indeed suggest that White, whoever he was, was a man of at least some education.⁶⁸ Alongside White, the masque text names a Mr. Onslo as a dancing master, increasing the likelihood of there being other male masters within the female school.⁶⁹ Although women teachers did operate within Tudor schools and many of the later dame schools were run by women, it is not

possible to ascertain if there were any female teachers in the Ladies Hall.⁷⁰ The construction of such a community recalls the connection between female exclusivity and education in the continental and domestic pre-Reformation model of the convent as a space of female learning (though attenuated somewhat by the presence of male masters), which, given Anne's own Catholicism, and the one recorded instance of performance in continental English Catholic girls' schools, stands in a suggestive relationship to the Ladies Hall.⁷¹

It is this creation of a female community beyond domestic confines that truly distances the Ladies Hall from the Tudor tradition and aligns it with the model of the dame school. In contrast to the limited mixed-sex education in the grammar schools of the Tudor middle classes, the Ladies Hall asserts female education in its own right. The content of its education also seems to distance this school from the education received by the daughters of the Tudor elite - the gifts of embroidery and the performance of the masque dances implies that social accomplishments were taught. Given that the only existent evidence is performative, however, and also given the various interpretations that can be given to the performance of these accomplishments, a simplistic equation of the teachings of the Ladies Hall with those of the dame schools is not acceptable. The exact content of the education the performers of Cupid's Banishment would have received is not ascertainable, but I will suggest that the apparent triviality of Stuart female education can be complicated through the examination of the performance of these attributes in White's masque.

The bond between early modern education and performance is long-standing. In addition to the masquing of the Inns of Court, sixteenth century boys' grammar schools staged Latin productions of Roman comedies to improve the pupils' fluency and give them public eloquence and poise.⁷² Such performances are a masculine template for that of the Ladies Hall (with the obvious caveat that only one of the female pupils was permitted to speak), and continue to operate in this way throughout the external apparatus of this masque, as my discussion of the relationship between the Ladies Hall and the Inns of Court shows. Performance emerges as a formative principle in the ideology of female education.

For all but one pupil in Cupid's Banishment the intention is not to endow them with eloquence; the prohibition of female masquing speech makes this impossible for most women. Instead, performance is an opportunity to display corporeal grace within the masque dances. The masquers' adherence to the physical decorum of the courtly woman in dance demonstrates that the pupils of the Ladies Hall were taught the attributes of the courtly feminine ideal. This is also evident from the embroideries offered to Anne; as I shall discuss below, both dance and embroidery constitute aspects of the feminine ideal of the early modern noblewoman. Indeed (if Ann Watkins's speech is ignored), the evidence of the masque suggests that these girls are taught the necessary attributes for performance within the feminine ideal. The dynamics of courtly education are such that a performance of sorts seems a necessary demonstration of the skills taught. Instructed by such men as Samuel Daniel, tutor to Lady Anne Clifford, masque writer and one-time Master of the Queen's Revels, the education of the elite is necessarily expressed in its performative production, and a

courtly education is necessary in order for courtiers to masque. The elite woman's training prepares her for court performance and the display of conformity to the feminine ideal. However, as suggested above and as I shall develop below, in the performance of Cupid's Banishment, this training has an agenda which makes the classification of the Ladies Hall as a 'finishing school' sit uneasily with the ambiguous and dualistic nature of the attributes which the girls acquire under this regime.

Ann Watkins's speech is a striking exception to the masquers' apparent conformity to the feminine ideal. Her speech also raises the question of what kind of training she would have received and at whose hands. Was she trained in rhetoric, or merely rehearsed for this performance? Did her training take place within the Ladies Hall? Unfortunately, the evidence to answer these questions simply does not exist. However, the notion that Ann Watkins is trained to speak in public (however informally and to whatever extent) challenges not only the silence of the masquing woman, but also the simplistic correspondence of the curriculum of the Ladies Hall to that of the dame schools. Ann Watkins was coached and rehearsed for her part in this masque; her training alters the nature of the educative strategies of the Ladies Hall.

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In her Greenwich court, Anne is witness to a masque that not only brings female performers and an actress of sorts to the stage, but which also records the existence of a school used specifically for the education of women. Anne's acceptance

of the gift of the masque from the Ladies Hall is also a performative statement of support for female education; her acceptance of the schoolgirls' homage and embroidered gifts validates both the masque performance and the existence of the school itself. Education is a necessary part of the replication of masculine state ritual in Cupid's Banishment - the girls must be trained in the skills of masquing, a substantial part of a courtly education. The educative female space beyond the home is used to create female performance, the voicing of female speech and (as I shall demonstrate) the creation of a feminine text, all of which memorialise the existence of the school itself.

The analysis of Cupid's Banishment gives us an insight into the perspective of historical analysis. The existence of the Ladies Hall is preserved for present day scholars through the masque, a genre which is itself only imperfectly recorded for later audiences. Elite female performance memorialises elite female education, through the involvement of the Queen. Our perspective on female education could be a false one, but at least our dependency upon the fragility of documentation is clear. Given this fragility, I will turn now to the performative experience of the masque itself.

Carnival and the female voice.

Unprecedented as it is, Fortune's speech forms part of a frail tradition of the performative female voice. While female song is tenuously established in Scottish entertainments, Tudor progress entertainments have certain, extremely rare examples of female speech. One relevant precedent to White's masque is the Speeches to the Queen at Bisham (1592), a progress entertainment produced for Elizabeth I which involves two noblewomen in speaking roles.⁷³ The noble speakers, Anne and Elizabeth Russell, like the girls of the Ladies Hall, are performing to secure advancement at court. These two entertainments also converge thematically, dealing with the dynamics of speech, writing, embroidery and chastity, and their similarities are all the more forceful for the presence at Bisham of the seductive god Pan as an analogue to White's Cupid.⁷⁴ As in the later masque, the samplers referred to in the progress present needlework as a quasi-linguistic medium, predicated through gender: 'Men's tongues, wrought all with double stitch, but not one true. [...] / Roses, egletine, harts-ease, wrought with Queenes stitch, and all right.'⁷⁵ Bisham has many of the features of the progress entertainment, but its incorporation of female speech presses upon the boundaries of this genre, in the same way that Cupid's Banishment pushes against the performance conventions of the masque form. Despite this precedent, however, Cupid's Banishment is unique for the incorporation of female speech within the masque genre.

Ann Watkins's speech is unique in being the first female speech within a masque, predating the vocal performance of Madame Coniack, the professional singer

of Townshend's Tempe Restored, by fifteen years.⁷⁶ Yet this development is accompanied by none of the outraged commentary that followed Queen Anne's debut in The Vision or her subsequent performance in Blackness. This silence can be partly attributed to the out-of-court performance of this masque, which perhaps offered a degree of protection for the staging of female speech within the Queen's coterie entertainment. Yet, as Henrietta Maria was to discover with the publication of Histrio-Mastix later in the seventeenth century, royal participation and an insular performance are no guarantees in themselves. I believe, however, that the sheltering of speech and performer within the semi-independent Queen's court (reflected in its unobtrusive position within the transcript), the patronage of Lucy Russell, and, importantly, the absence of the King, fostered this ground-breaking moment. The liminal status of the schoolgirls themselves in relation to the court also contributes to the staging of this speech; they act as the medium through which the elite court initiates (Anne and Russell) can safely manipulate female performance.

Cupid's Banishment presents a very specific kind of speech. Watkins's vocal performance stands at the mid-point between the silence of Jacobean female masquing and the dramatic speech seen in the later pastorals of the female Caroline court. Watkins is herself ambiguous, capable of speech precisely because of her liminal existence on the boundaries between court and the citizenry. This is reflected in her status within Cupid's Banishment; as Fortune, she is aligned with her silent masquing companions, leading the other girls out in the figured dance, identified with that group through age, sex and class, yet irrevocably distanced from them by her unique vocality. In speaking, Watkins forfeits the masquer's guarantee of recognition in

favour of the effacement of identity beneath her assumed role - she is acting. This identifies her strongly with the male performers of Cupid's Banishment, a group that I have chosen to discuss only very briefly. Although the antimasque is performed by professionals, the status of those who speak in the main masque is more ambiguous. Some, such as Charles Coleman who played Hymen, are professionals. Richard Browne, however, is one of a group who are, like the girls of the Ladies Hall, the children of local dignitaries performing for the prestige gained by links with the court. The slipping of the hitherto rigid distinction between actor and masquer perhaps facilitates female vocality: in the wake of shifting class distinctions within performance, it appears that conditions are also ripe for a degree of performative equality between the genders.

Later examples of female masquing speech may cast further light on the unique nature of this moment within Cupid's Banishment. One of the most famous performances is that of Milton's Comus (1634), in which Lady Alice Egerton, then fifteen, and her two brothers sang and spoke extensively.⁷⁷ In terms of their performers' age and the status of an out-of-court masque occasion, Comus and Cupid's Banishment are remarkably similar. Following Tempe Restored, Alice Egerton broke new ground as the first noblewoman to sing within a public entertainment (masque or drama), and one of the first to speak within a masque.⁷⁸ The similarity in the ages of these women suggests that youth is a factor which aids this once transgressive performance. While little is known of the age or background of Madame Coniack and her companion, Mistress Sheperd, the first non-professional females involved in performative speech and song are adolescent and operate under

the protection of dominant aristocratic figures - Queen Anne, Lucy Russell and the Earl of Bridgewater. It is possible that the youthfulness of Ann Watkins and Alice Egerton granted a degree of impunity similar to that exploited by the children's companies of the first decade of the seventeenth century, an impunity less available to those who no longer stood beneath the control of a father, a family, or a school. The status of female song as a step towards female speech becomes even more relevant to Cupid's Banishment when we consider that the masquers playing the wood nymphs (eight of the female masquers as listed by McGee) 'sing in joy' (p.87).⁷⁹

Developments within male masque performance in the years following Cupid's Banishment cast further light upon the shift occurring in elite performance. The French influence that prevailed in the Caroline courts possibly contributed to the performance of male noble speech in an unidentified masque of 1626, when Villiers played the role of a fencing master in a Rabelasian antimasque 'which many thought too histrionical to become him'.⁸⁰ Given the fashionable status of French dance and dancing masters, and Villiers's own experience of the French court, which converge in de Lauze's dedication of the Apologie de la danse (1623) to the Earl, it is possible that this performance was influenced by the example of the burlesque *ballet de cour*.⁸¹ Ann Watkins's performance, too, bears the hallmarks of a continental or French influence: as neither a professional performer nor a conventionally silent female masquer, her position has more in common with the aristocratic Mademoiselle de Sainte Mesme who played the vocal role of Circe in the Ballet Comique (1581), than with that of other English performances. The influence of French court culture upon

Anne's coterie is confirmed by James Knowles' discovery of a *ballet de cour* which was performed in Anne's chambers in 1617.⁸²

There are practical features concerned with this masque which facilitate the staging of the female voice. The transcript describes Watkins as wearing 'a veil before her face to shew her blindness' (p.85). Though part of Fortune's personification, Watkins's veil renders her less immediately distinct from the adolescent male transvestite performers; through happy coincidence or deliberate policy, concrete aspects of Fortune's characterisation are exploited to blur the distinctions between male and female performer, and to soften any potential negative audience reaction. In concealing the mouth, the veil also distances this female speech from its associations of sexual promiscuity. The bodily act of speech is curtailed-off from the eyes of the audience, enabling its performance. Yet within this presentation text, intended for Lucy Russell, no attempt is made to disguise Fortune's speech or hide Watkins's identity. The manuscript was not intended for wide circulation; coterie performance creates coterie text.

The choice of the conventional abstraction of Fortune, a non-individualised image of female authority, as the character in whom the female voice is first staged is interesting. Though its reliance on the concept of female fickleness conforms to the early modern discourse of femininity, this personification also has strong positive associations within the structure of Cupid's Banishment itself. Fortune, the embodiment of the power of chance within the playing arena of the masque, is explicitly associated with the performance of the role of ruler. 'Fortune's doom'

(p.83) is the force behind this masque's major conceit, the selection of the player king and queen; as the actual and symbolic power within the masque, Fortune, alongside Diana, is the performative analogue of the watching Queen Anne and, as I shall go on to discuss, a commentator upon the essentially random nature of monarchy. This masque elevates the female speaker; Fortune's authority is manifested within the stage picture in her elevation to the head of the mount, above the King and Queen of the Bean.⁸³ Her importance is further asserted when she leads her silent compatriots to the dance of the Queen's name; the juxtaposition of dance and speech is heightened by the presence of the woman who performs both in quick succession. The direct female approach to language is consolidated in the linguistic significance of the dance, to be discussed below. A representative for the silent masquers, Watkins must consolidate her speech through the performance of a more acceptable feminine activity. Yet, as I shall show, dance is also a validation of female speech: the 'whispering measure' of the dance (p.88, 283) is initiated by a woman engaged in a more radical linguistic expression.

Female performance: rule and no rule.

Performed in the absence of James I, Cupid's Banishment is staged within a legitimate power vacuum particularly conducive to the carnivalesque. The space of inverted rule or no rule is a space of performance. Could James's absence be obliquely referred to in that of the 'carping god' of Occasion's speech to Anne (p.84, 15)? History (in particular the events of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue) offers incident

enough to suggest that it is, but the real interest lies in the more subtle challenge to the patriarch's authority found in the very performance of this masque itself.

The atmosphere of misrule prevalent in carnival and popular festivities is an important influence in the development of female performance. White uses his dedicatory letter to establish an atmosphere of seasonal celebration to justify his pupils' performance: 'The ground of our plot is, choosing of a king and queen by Fortune's doom, which is a sport our little ladies can use on Candlemas night.' (p.83). Bentley has interpreted these remarks and the reference to 'Envy's raging winter' (p.83) as a defence of the pupils' performance against outside attacks.⁸⁴ If annual celebrations were indeed a tradition in the school, then White's appeal to this tradition of female performance is a sensible strategy. Self-consciously evoking popular festivals, Cupid's Banishment highlights the often subdued seasonal aspect of the masque itself. Standing on the fringes of mainstream courtly life, the performance, performers and author pay a debt to the performative world beyond the court in the recognition of its influence upon the masque genre. In doing so, they are also drawing upon the roots of female performance to create a masque which itself grants female speech. Female performance is rooted in the festivities and rituals of carnival, chiavaris and mascarades; when these rituals are filtered through the discourse of courtesy to become the seasonal and occasional festivities of courtly society the seed of female performance is also transplanted into new soil. The shift of the position of the antimasque of bacchanalians and the permission which the structure of the masque grants these figures to remain within the court is a recognition of the need for license and the embrace of marginalised performance.

With the exception of the dancing of the names of James and Prince Charles (which I shall discuss later) Anne's rule is almost unassailable within the boundaries of this masque. In the absence of the monarch, female rule is established and justified within the female court, in some senses itself an equivalent to the inverted carnival court of misrule. While feminine rule is indeed an inversion of the usual power structure, the presence of the Queen gives it validation, and I would suggest that the carnival ethos is a means to side-step the scandalised commentary that surrounded earlier female masquing participation. The strategy of misrule makes female rule and vocal performance more acceptable: 'Burlesquing majesty by prompting license under the forms of order, [is] useful to countenance the revelry of such a group.'⁸⁵ We should be aware of Le Roy Ladurie's warning against confusing 'inversion with subversion', but in this case inversion permits subversion to take place.⁸⁶ As both performative and historical text, Cupid's Banishment circles obsessively around the concept of the female engagement with or exclusion from power.

Political engagement is integral to the conceit of Cupid's Banishment. The role-playing of the King and Queen of the Bean, the monarchs chosen by 'Fortune's doom', interrogates the nature of monarchy and challenges James I's cherished absolutism, all the more so because Fortune, the real power of this masque, is a vocal woman. The performances of Henry Jennor and Debora Draper as King and Queen reflect on that of James himself, challenging his theory of the divine right of the sovereign. The staging of the selection of the rulers, and the knowledge of the chance upon which this rests, gazes steadily at the whim of fate that created James as king. James himself became the English ruler through a process of political alliances and machinations, involving

what Goldberg describes as the emotional sacrifice of his mother and the espousal of Elizabeth I as a surrogate mother.⁸⁷ His cousin, Arbella Stuart, a 'significant claimant to the throne of England', must have been a constant reminder that James's right to rule was not in fact indisputable.⁸⁸ Any staged impersonation of the monarchy, especially accompanied by both a mock and a serious coronation, comments on the ritualistic role-playing of sovereignty itself, reflecting a pressing sophisticated political debate. Destabilising the centre of James's power, this self-conscious impersonation also bolsters the Queen's status through her usurpation (temporary and legitimate) of the position of the king.

Anne's power is further asserted through the motif of the Candlemas festivities. While the transplanting of the motif of the King and Queen of the Bean is not unusual, the obscure displacement of the 2 February Candlemas festivities to 4 May is striking.⁸⁹ This can be explained in terms of the invocation of a tradition of seasonal, religious and popular performances as a validation of female performance. There is perhaps also a covert reference, available to the initiate, to the established Jacobean tradition of female performance since Candlemas was the occasion of the performance of the postponed Masque of Queens in 1609 and of the 1614 celebration of the marriage entertainments for Jean Drummond and Lord Roxborough staged to rival the Somerset festival. Furthermore, the invocation of the ritual celebration of the purification of the Virgin, shifted to the Marian month of May, is a striking use of Catholic ceremonial within the court performance of a Protestant nation. Through the use of this ritual, the performance of Cupid's Banishment is predicated around Anne's Catholicism, clearly signalling her cultural and ideological distance from James. The

autonomy of Anne's court from Whitehall is established, and she is set firmly at the head of a performance which resonates with the ritual of secular and religious female communities gathered in the worship of the Virgin.

Given the relationship between female performance and the carnivalesque, and the masque genre's debt to popular and carnival performance, it is the ideal arena for the breakthrough into female speech. In recognising the connection of the female voice and the carnivalesque, we must avoid perpetuating the early modern conflation of the celebratory with the grotesque, since to do so would risk associating the female voice with the grotesque almost by default. The masque form holds an ongoing debate with the grotesque (the non-courtly) and grossly physical aspects of celebratory performance in the inclusion and development of the antimasque. White himself distances these non-courtly and grotesque aspects of the performance from his pupils; the dedication's textual strategies of the justification of female performance, the rejection of Cupid, the chaste marriage, the service of Diana and the constant (re)assertion of the masquers' chastity, are perhaps designed to counter the associations of female speech with sexual promiscuity. The connotations of sexuality and the grotesque are distanced from White's female performers and are given limited expression within the confines of the antimasque. Despite (or rather because of) the challenge to the feminine ideal of silence, the ideal of female chastity is almost obsessively reinforced in order to distance the masquers from the negative associations of female speech.

The debate between the chaste and the physical is, however, complicated in the conceptualisation and representation of the female performers. The girls' performance creates them as erotic spectacle.⁹⁰ Despite Fortune's speech, the female performers do not transgress the feminine ideal, but manipulate both it and its outward markers (dance, embroidery, carnival and religious celebration) to attain a greater freedom within its confines. Yet this ideal is itself erotic. Though predictably there are no extant costume designs for this masque, the description of the Wood nymphs' costumes notes 'their arms half naked with bracelets of berries about them' (p.87). A potential flaw in the conformity of White's masque to its governing decorum, this display of female flesh is in fact linked to Fortune's speech itself through the Jacobean tradition of female masquing. In 1605 the bare arms of the noble performers of Blackness caused intense controversy. Such physical indecorum, first signalled in Anne's performance as Pallas in The Vision, reverberates through the progression of Jacobean female masquing, resurfacing in Beauty, Queens, and finally Cupid's Banishment.⁹¹ The tradition of the gendered body as a site of female expression exploiting costume, face-painting and dance runs through Anne's masque participation. White's masquers, although possessed of both speech and song, are constrained to operate within similar representative strategies to those of the earlier silent masques. The marginalisation of the female masquer in the second decade of the seventeenth century is a reminder of the constant danger of losing recently gained ground.

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Through the strategies of song and speech, Cupid's Banishment is an all-round assault on the constraints of feminine silence. The attainment of female speech is accompanied by similar representative strategies used throughout the female masques of the Jacobean court to push upon these constraints; Cupid's Banishment draws upon the tradition of Jacobean female court performance. In the next section, I will examine the constitution of a canon of female masquing, constructed around the performance of feminine corporeality, in greater detail, contextualising the covert feminine approach to linguistic expression which supports and validates Fortune's speech. In order to do this, I will focus on the physical media of dance and embroidery, examining the female masquers' visual and corporeal texts and their relationship to female speech and silence.

Embroidery and dance: staging the physical text.

This speech being ended, the GODDAUGHTERS presenting their needlework gifts - one, an acorn; the other rosemary - beginning with the first letters of the QUEEN'S name. They retire all, two by two. Making their honours they descend the Mount with this song.
(p.88).

As the performance of Cupid's Banishment nears its climax, we are offered a moment of insight into the dynamics of the masque form and the world of its creation. I would like to place the ritual of gift-giving in direct juxtaposition with another moment pivotal to my discussion of the masque genre. Inscribed through the bodies of the twelve young masquers, Anne is presented with another gift - her name in dance:

They pace with majesty toward the presence and, after the first strain of the violins, they dance, [forming] Anna Regina in letters; [in] their second masquing dance [forming] Jacobus Rex; [in] their departing dance is [the formation of] Carolus P with many excellent figures falling off, by Master Onslo, tutor to the Ladies Hall.
(p.88).

Separated only by the masculine utterance of Diana's speech, the audience is presented with two acts of the female creation and performance of text. Representing her initials in pictorial form while the dance draws out her name in the masquers' bodies, the presentation of these emblems is a staged act of memorialisation, the presentation to the Queen of a concrete reminder of her place as privileged spectator. Dance and embroidery, prime aspects of female education and of the performance of Cupid's Banishment, are closely bonded within these emblems: within their physical representation of language is the working of an embroidered text which mirrors the

earlier danced text. Both dance and needlework are pictorial embodiments of the linguistic, and as female textual creations, both centre firmly upon Anne. I shall suggest that while Fortune's speech represents the attainment of a forbidden vocality for the female masquer, dance and needlework represent a simultaneous and supportive approach to the female performance of a feminine-authored text within Cupid's Banishment. I will examine these moments as they exist within the masque's performative dynamics, and in the process of the creation of masque, dance and needlework, relating them to Jacobean female education.

The writing-in-dance of the names of the royal family is separated from the presentation of the emblems by that of her two god-daughters to the Queen. In this three-fold presentation, there is an emotional climax in which the masque itself, always an offering of state to the monarch, is formally given to Anne, and at the heart of this movement is the masque's integral exchange of homage and favour from subject to ruler.⁹² Female textual engagement is staged as gift-giving: in duplicating the rites of the masculine court, the feminine performative acts of dance and embroidery are validated in their presentation to the Queen. Validating both givers and recipients, gifting provides a rationale for the female activity of performance and of textual creation under the auspices of a female patron and privileged spectator. The presentation of this masque to its female privileged spectator is closely linked to the offering of the masque to a male monarch, to the political situation within which this masque is performed and to the duplication of the state ritual of male educational establishments embarked upon by the Ladies Hall.

The apparently uncomplicated presentation from goddaughters to godmother is in fact one of very few instances when the gift-giving common in the masque genre is recorded within its text. Its duality is striking. Embodied within this masque, the personal moment becomes the public act of presentation to the state, an offering to the queen staged within court ritual. Just as a monarch's actions can never be interpreted solely as personal (witness James's caresses bestowed upon Villiers during Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue), so the subject's presentation and the queen's acceptance of a gift carries political weight. This moment is the centre-knot of the web of this masque's converging forces. It is an insight into the social and historical context of this masque's creation, and a glimpse (however shadowy) into the lives of those performing and spectating.

Approaching Anne, the two girls (tentatively identified as Anne Chalenor and Anne Sandeland), present her with the embroidered emblems.⁹³ These gifts are complex cultural constructs in themselves and, following the work of Rozsika Parker in The Subversive Stitch and the re-evaluation of the relation of needlework to the accepted artistic canon, they are intrinsic to my analysis of Cupid's Banishment. White's description implies that the pieces were embroidered by the performers themselves, both likely and appropriate given the nature of the performance and performers. No pictorial record survives of the emblems, we have only the statement of the masque transcript that they are embroidered representations of rosemary and an acorn. This in turn is interpreted in White's text as representing 'A' and 'R' (the initials of 'Anna Regina'), a truncated version of the masquers' danced text. This conjunction is significant: after a lengthy period of subjugation to the primacy of the

written text, both dance and needlework have recently come to be recognised in the canon of cultural criticism as means of textual creation.⁹⁴ As the two girls approach the royal dais carrying the pictorial texts which they themselves have manufactured, they are staging both the texts and process of textual creation. Although their authorship of these embroidered texts can never be ascertained beyond doubt, this is a small but striking example of the performance of a feminine text, complementing and ratifying the liberation of the female voice.

The presentation of the gifts of dance and embroidery to Queen Anne is a pivotal moment of this masque, offering the female performance a textualised medium of expression. Working within the tradition of the pressuring of female masquing silence established in Anne's counter-court, dance and embroidery are approaches to female expression which establish a context for Fortune's ground-breaking speech; Watkins's speech is neither incongruous nor unanticipated. In addition, both dance and needlework have a high profile within models of female education, and the dancing of the Queen's name and the presentation of the embroidered emblems are the public staging of the female masquers' education. One of the most exciting aspects of Cupid's Banishment is the close interaction of such disparate feminine activities as education, needlework and dance within the social codes operating upon the elite female in daily life and the performance of these codes within the masque genre. Drawing upon this, I will discuss the input of such accomplishments into female education and the potential for subversion found in the textuality that they offer to the female masquer.

The embroidery of text.

Addressing Anne, the male Diana refers to the masquers' embroidered emblems as 'the timely fruits of their chaste labours' (p.88, 298). This remark illuminates the association of needlework with the feminine and its role in a performance by members of a female educational establishment. A necessary accomplishment of the elite woman, embroidery was felt to accord with what Parker terms 'the feminine ideal', and she warns against underestimating its power in 'inculcating' and preserving this notion of femininity.⁹⁵ Chastity was the principal feminine virtue, and needlework was felt to be an aid in attaining and protecting mental and physical virtue, restricting women to long, isolating hours of work in contact only with other women.⁹⁶ While the act of embroidery was itself considered an act of conformity to the silence, obedience and domestic confinement that was the patriarchal ideal of womanhood, the content of this needlework was often also felt to express this conformity: 'Women themselves employed subjects to declare their conformity to the feminine identity they were designated' and biblical subjects were particularly favoured.⁹⁷ Textual and pictorial, embroidery is open to women for precisely the same reasons as dance, through its physicality and its conformity to the feminine ideal; the desirability of dance and embroidery as necessary feminine accomplishments facilitates their inclusion in this masque. Diana's assertion that the embroideries reflect the chastity of the masquers is entirely in keeping with the social nature of these performative acts.

Dissonant chords can be heard among this harmony, however. The act of performance involved in the presentation of these emblems to the Queen is itself a transgression against the norms of domesticity and female containment. Although silent female masquing performance does not transgress Jacobean social norms, even its mute form hardly emulates the desired female withdrawal from the public gaze and can be seen as a validating strategy for female textual creativity and (given Fortune's earlier transgression) textual performance. White's masque enacts the opposition of the courtly and non-courtly in the clash of the ideologies of the feminine ideal. Ever-aware of an audience in her daily life, the courtly noblewoman is also trained to perform in the masque, if only in the revels, through the rigorous physical discipline of the dance. Opposing itself to the performative essence of the courtly identity (male or female) is the discourse of feminine retreat from the public arena, manifested within the masque form's prohibition of female speech. On this unique occasion, this ideology of retreat is comprehensively defeated.

Intended as a marker of the feminine conformity to the desired norm, display is a necessary result of the creation of embroidery, intensified by its inclusion within this masque. Although worked in the partial privacy of the domestic sphere, the status of embroidery, especially tapestries, wall or bedhangings, is paradoxical; it 'ensured that women spent long hours at home, retired in private, yet it made a public statement about the household's position and economic standing'.⁹⁸ In addition, although it was intended to isolate women, the containment embroidery requires can instead create a communal female space, echoed in the Ladies Hall itself, within which artefacts are worked. An appropriate example is the bedding in Holyrood Palace worked for the

lying-in of Mary Stuart, which although domestic is a semi-public display of wealth and status.⁹⁹ Created for the female ritual of lying-in and childbirth, its remarkable richness is a political statement of wealth and of the procreation of heirs, itself an act of both intimacy and statescraft. In the overlap of the private and public, the creation of a political work within a feminine space is intensely suggestive for the analysis of Cupid's Banishment.

Though needlework has suffered from the gendered delineation of its confinement to the personal, Cupids' Banishment's performance of embroidery highlights the similarities between the seemingly disparate art forms of court masque and embroidery. Created by the women of the house to mark the patriarch's status, embroidery needs a spectator to mark the wealth and prosperity of the family unit. In the same way, created by subjects to praise the monarch, the masque form enacts the wealth and power of a ruler whose authority is predicated through the gendered structure of the family before an audience of subjects and foreign ambassadors. There is an established tradition of the presentation of needlework to the monarch, and the New Year gifts of embroidered fabrics offered to Elizabeth I demonstrate the standing of rich embroideries as a gift of state. The lists of the gifts presented by members of the court to Elizabeth I in 1577-8 show that the presentation of embroidery was not solely the domain of the female courtier; for example, while the Duchess of Suffolk offered 'a feyer cushyn of purple vellat, very feyerly embrawdred of the story of Truth', the Earl of Warwick gave 'a gowne with hanging sleves of black vellat alov' [...], embrawdred with agarde with sondry birds and flowers'.¹⁰⁰ The interpretation of embroidery as a performative or domestic act is further altered by the composition of

the audience before which it is displayed; Anne's presence and the potential attendance of members of her court means that this presentation is one which blends the personal with the political and with the ramifications of the gift of state. The very identity and status of the goddaughters reflects this balance; though personally linked to Anne, they are in a sense themselves gifts to the Queen. Named for Anne, they are presented to her in deference to her queenship and in the hope of advancement for themselves and for their families.

The theatricalised impulse of these embroideries is in itself a lessening of the restrictions surrounding the female needleworker; embroidery is revealed as a performative medium, the feminine creation and enactment of text. Just as all masques are not monarchical panegyrics, all embroideries are not conformist representations of the feminine ideal, but embody a potentially subversive female expression. The act of embroidery contains inherent tensions; the necessity that women should embroider to confirm their femininity assigns them a degree of expressive potentiality. Analysing Stuart embroideries of biblical heroines, Parker suggests that in some cases we can 'see how women gave their own interpretations and particular emphasis to the feminine ideal.'¹⁰¹ To analyse fully the textual force of the embroideries of Cupid's Banishment, it is necessary to evaluate the potential significances of the emblems themselves.

The well-documented needlework of Mary Stuart again provides a useful starting point for this discussion. Among her work, a remarkable example highlights the potential use of embroidery for the covert communication of a transgressive

significance. During Mary's exile under the supervision of Bess of Hardwick at Hardwick Hall, she embroidered a panel depicting a knife pruning a vine with the Latin motto 'Virtue flourishes by wounding'. This panel, to be sent to the Duke of Norfolk whom she hoped to marry, is a reference to the Queen's resolution in the face of her suffering under Elizabeth I.¹⁰² Such political significance within the dual coding of emblematic needlework is a clear example of embroidery's communicative potential, but can this coded thread-work of female rebellion be clearly linked to the emblems of Cupid's Banishment?

Created within the attenuated feminine space of the Ladies Hall and performed within a predominantly feminine masque, the significance of the emblems is of the greatest interest. The connections of rosemary with both marriage and funeral rites is attested to in Herrick's Rosemarie Branch: 'Grow for two ends, it matters not at all, / Be't for my Bridall, or my Buriall.'¹⁰³ These ritual connections, specifically with marriage, make rosemary an apt emblem for this performance. Such traditional and available significance is in keeping with the postulated education received by the girls of the Ladies Hall. Although there is evidence that humanist emblems were occasionally used as embroidery patterns, and while the oak tree does figure in various emblem texts, neither rosemary or the acorn form part of any emblem to be found in the domestic or continental humanistic emblem books of the early modern period.¹⁰⁴ Emblems, at the very heart of the masque form in their compact layered physical presentation of meaning and their relationship to the physicality of the masquers themselves, were used in boys' grammar schools as an aid to teaching Latin. The choice of the rosemary and acorn, however, sites these embroidered emblems

within an alternative discourse of knowledge. Though neither acorns nor rosemary figure prominently in contemporary pattern books (an absence which suggests that they are not an obvious choice), a visual representation of both rosemary and the acorn does exist in an illustrated botanical manuscript (figures 24 and 25).¹⁰⁵ While these illustrations cannot be aligned to those of Cupid's Banishment in any watertight sense, they point to the currency of these motifs and offer a context for the stylised visual representation of these plants in a quasi-emblematic form.¹⁰⁶

The Bodleian manuscript, a stunning array of stylised plants and animals, leads us into the tradition of the imagery of signifying plants and flowers, perhaps most apparent in the years surrounding Cupid's Banishment within the tradition of herbals and botanical manuals. Predating the 1525 publication of Banckes' Herbal, the herbal manual has a fairly consistent tradition through the sixteenth century; prominent examples are William Turner's Herball (1568), dedicated to Elizabeth I, and John Gerard's Herball (1597).¹⁰⁷ In a similar vein, botanical books were published throughout the Jacobean and Caroline reigns; indeed John Parkinson, father to the masquer Katherine Parkinson and apothecary to James I, himself published two such texts between 1629 and 1640, the first of which was dedicated to Henrietta Maria.¹⁰⁸ Given the involvement of both Anne and Lucy Russell in the commissioning of organic garden texts, and the personal links of the masquers to those creating such texts, which have a primarily female target audience, it is probable that the literate women of the Ladies Hall were exposed to texts of this genre.¹⁰⁹ Evidence of intertextuality between such texts and elite embroidery is found in the identification of

the botanical work of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues (La Clef des Champs, 1586) as the inspiration for the grape motif of the 'Pear Tree' long cushion at Hardwick Hall.¹¹⁰

The simplistic significance of the acorn as 'strength and steadfastness' can be augmented by implications of prelapsarian innocence - the acorn is the nourishment of the Golden Age, before the intrusion of husbandry.¹¹¹ However, the rosemary carries an even more various burden of meaning in the signifying discourse of plants and flowers. The herbals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illuminate the potential significance of the properties of rosemary in Cupid's Banishment. An association between rosemary and the female body can be traced back at least as far as medieval medical tracts, it is repeatedly recommended as a regulator of menstruation in medieval gynaecological handbooks.¹¹² Furthermore, Gerard states that 'Arabians and other Physitians succeeding, do write, that Rosemarie [...] restoreth speech unto them that are possessed with the dumb palsie'.¹¹³ The restoration of previously lost or restricted speech through a plant associated with the female body, emblematised in a masque which stages female speech, is a commentary on female vocality in Cupid's Banishment, within the physicality of a feminine visual text.

Strongly associated with the Virgin, the choice of rosemary is significant in the light of Anne's Catholicism. Associations with rosemary, the Virgin, and celebratory ritual circulate around the festival of Candlemas, the controversial basis for Cupid's Banishment's performative impulse. Herrick's Ceremonies for Candlemasse Eve establishes an inverse association between rosemary and the festivity of the purification of the Virgin, ordering that the herb garlands be pulled

down to make way for those of box for the celebration of the Marian feast.¹¹⁴ The link between rosemary and the celebration of exclusively feminine festival rituals is backed up by Gerard who writes that ‘women haue been accustomed to make crownes and garlands therof’ and so bonds the notion of performative festivity to the concept of monarchy and the female deity in performance.¹¹⁵

The duality of the twice-flowering plant, marriage and funeral rites, dissident Catholicism and the ceremonies of Candlemas, festive celebration and the expression of loyalty to the monarch - such is the web of meanings which surround rosemary. When combined with the encapsulated potential of the oak (Jove’s tree) within the acorn, these emblems are a dualistic but essentially supportive offering to the Queen; offering hope in the performance of female speech, there is perhaps also consolation for previous silences. These emblems stage a feminised experience and discourse; they evade mainstream humanism to privilege an alternative discourse, one which skirts the periphery of the literary canon in herbals and pattern books and of the courtly in the involvement of figures such as John Parkinson.¹¹⁶

Replicated through the three-fold medium of dance, embroidery and text, Anne’s name is of supreme importance within this masque. Specifying that the emblems refer to ‘Anna Regina’, the text stresses the royal identity of the woman for whom the masque is performed, bolstering this with the verbal conceit of ‘Anna/Diana’. Such an interpretation is significant, especially given Anne’s bid for the regency and the performance of this masque at her Greenwich court within the legitimate power vacuum of James’s absence. It is the usual strategy of the court

masque text to foster the power of the monarch, but in Cupid's Banishment this is deflected to serve not the absent monarch but his consort. The focus upon Anne's primacy within the feminine space of the masque's creation and staging is a decentring of the gendered structures of Jacobean power.

Feminine performance, apparently acceptable within the elite masque form, in fact creates tensions which reflect the conflicting discourses of the feminine role within courtly and wider society. In a performance which breaches the prohibition on female speech, the use of embroidery in this masque gives feminine performative expression an added dimension. However, Parker strikes a necessary note of caution which can be broadly applied to early modern embroidery:

We cannot claim [women embroiderers] as proto-feminists who stitched [...] in conscious opposition to their ordained role, in rebellion against the inactivity, immobility and obedience enforced by embroidery itself. But their work was undoubtedly a declaration in favour of their sex.¹¹⁷

This is a fair summary of the embroidered emblems found within White's masque. What should be said, however is that this needlework, in conjunction with female masquing speech, expresses a desire for a greater feminine engagement with the structures of power. Embroidery is a necessary feminine attribute, as is dance, but both can be appropriated to destabilise the courtly feminine ideal and reject a simplistic interpretation of this masque performance.

Dance and embroidery.

Closely connected to the dance through the shared physicality which makes both accessible to women, the embroidered emblems have a direct impact upon the figured dance in text and performance. The emblems replicate the danced text in a truncated pictorial form: both are physical representations of Anne's name and title. Created before the ephemeral fact of the figured dance and surviving after the masque's completion (though how long is uncertain), the embroidered texts are a commentary upon and concrete memorialisation of the danced text.

There is a direct relationship between the danced and embroidered texts and the masque transcript: after its performance, the figured dance has only a textual existence, whether within the masque transcript or the marginalised text of feminine embroidery. Embroidered text stands for danced text as masque transcript stands for masque performance. Glossed and validated by the male-authored transcript, each feminine text has a dual existence within the official text and as a text-in-performance. As a concrete artefact, embroidery is more clearly related to a conventional written text, but it shares the fate of the transient dance text; despite its preservational function, neither the embroidered texts nor any records of them seem to have survived. This is unfortunate, but given the existence of only a single copy of the privileged masque transcript, hardly surprising. For present-day readers, therefore, the embroideries are as ephemeral as the dance and both are memorialised only by the masque transcript: just as 'all that remains from the spectacle dances in the printed text of Cupid's Banishment (1617) is their philological "meaning"', so all that

remains of the embroidered texts is their legible significance - the reference to Anne's name.¹¹⁸

Anne is presented with a text created by the female hand as a memorialisation of her position of honour in the masque. Similarly, Cupid's Banishment survives today only because of the preservation of a presentation copy of the text, intended for Lucy Russell, but eventually kept instead by Richard Browne (who played Diana) as a performance souvenir. The male performer preserves the performance through the male masque-writer's transcript while the Queen is presented with the feminine emblem text. Memorialisation and presentation, public and private gift-giving, and patronage resonate through Cupid's Banishment. In addition, the close textual relationship between the figured dance and the embroidered emblems facilitates female access to text and textuality.

Concealed within Cupid's Banishment, the creative processes behind embroidery are as relevant as those of the staging of the masque itself. Circulating around a shared meaning (the Queen's name), the process behind the creation of these dances and embroideries can also be aligned. There is a decidedly different performative impact in the presentation of a pre-created artefact compared to the enactment of the processes of creation seen in the performance of the figured dance; yet the dance's creation of text before the gaze of the audience looks back to the hidden creation of the embroidered text. The performed process of textual creation within the dance displays and memorialises the concealed processes of textual creation within embroidery and writing, editing and publication. As my discussion of

Jonson's Hymenaei in chapter two suggests, authorship of dance is a complex issue, with claims being staked for both the choreographer, identified as the elusive Mr. Onslo (a dancing master at the school) and the female performers. Female performance emerges as a strongly creative and expressive force within this male-authored masque, in the staging of their education in dance and embroidery.

Circling around the presence of the monarch as its main *raison d'être*, Cupid's Banishment enacts an almost obsessive repetition of the name of the monarch, in this case Queen Anne. The masque form finds an abundance of ways in which to perform the name, offering homage to the monarch, the individual bearing the signifying name of the social order. The group of dancing bodies which assumes the form of that name is the most suggestive and allusive (and elusive) of these performances. Although individual masquers are always recognised, they are to some extent assuming a performative persona in becoming part of the linguistic system that honours the monarch, and in becoming part of that system they enact a physical pledge of loyalty to that monarch. In Cupid's Banishment this process is rendered more problematic by the multiple layers of the offering of the monarch's name as tribute to the monarch. Embodied in the ruler, the dancer, and in embroidery, the name becomes both body and text. The dance's direct approach to language is transformed within the masque into the concrete embroidered artefact which can be offered to the Queen.

Contemporary conceptualisations of embroidery and dance feed into Cupid's Banishment through the demands courtly society places upon female behaviour and through models of female education. As noted, dance and embroidery are equated as

the necessary accomplishments of the elite female and both are seen to reflect the essential triviality of the perceived feminine essence. In the dame schools of the later seventeenth century, needlework and dance took their places as the accomplishments of the graceful but vapid and passive woman. Within certain models, however, the effeminacy of embroidery and dance became a tool in the attempt to facilitate female education. Discussing girls' education in the sixteenth century, the educationalist Richard Mulcaster 'lists reading, writing, sight singing, music and skill in needlework as necessary subjects.'¹¹⁹ In her Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen (1693), the schoolmistress and business woman Bathsua Makin moves forwards from Mulcaster's position to stake a claim for the inclusion of embroidery, movement training and other related accomplishments within the curriculum of her school in order to allow a more academic education.

I do not deny that women ought to be brought up to a comely and decent carriage, to their needle, to neatness, to understand all those things that do particularly belong to their sex. But when these things are competently cared for, then higher things ought to be endeavoured.¹²⁰

While Cupid's Banishment's staging of these accomplishments does not categorically identify the Ladies Hall's curriculum as identical with those of the less ambitious dame school, it is identified with Makin's more radical agenda for female education. Enacted on the court's margins, this masque and its female performers occupy transitional positions in the history of performance and female education. Educated in a school which stands between the earlier tradition of the humanist home education and the later dame schools, neither court initiates nor outsiders, the girls are

trained in skills which are themselves of shifting status. Dance and embroidery are simultaneously the noblewoman's accomplishments and the trivial occupation of the girl taught in the genteel dame school. They are also the markers of conformity to the patriarchal ideal and the means of its destabilisation. Caught in this moment of flux, the masquers' performance and training both reflect and undermine the demands of the social hegemony; their dancing and their embroidery can be read both as the assertion and the destabilisation of courtly power structures. The act of embroidery is the enactment of the nexus of female performance and education, made public in the presentation of these emblems within this masque.

Within the corporeal dance and the visual emblem text, women's relationship to language remains within the boundaries of the physical. However, the approach of these performers to a linguistic expression of sorts is a powerful presence within this masque; constrained within the physical, the female performer finds an expressive release through this constraint. The more conventional engagement with dance and embroidery complements and ratifies the more radical transgression found in the speech of Ann Watkins.

Dancing the name: the gendered body and the figured dance.

Cupid's Banishment contains the first recorded example of the writing-in-dance of a female name in the English masque.¹²¹ The presentation of the textual memorialisation of the dance (and of the Queen's name) in the embroidered emblems parallels the production of the masque transcript itself and highlights the dance's

performative status and impact. Figured dance is a rare activity within the Jacobean court masque; specific textual descriptions of the dancing of figures are found only in The Vision (1604), Beauty (1608) and Hymenaei (1606).¹²² As discussed in chapter two, writing-in-dance, an intensification of the approach to language made in the figured dance and performed in conjunction with the dancing of figures, is equally unusual, also occurring only three times. The masques in question are Hymenaei, Queens (1609) and Cupid's Banishment. All involve female dancers. Given that women performed in relatively few Jacobean court masques, the association of writing-in-dance with the feminine is particularly suggestive, especially given my claims for the political statement being made in the performance of Cupid's Banishment.¹²³ I would suggest that its inclusion in this masque is a feminine appropriation of the mainstream masculine court culture, within the bounds of patriarchal court decorum.

The bald comments of Francis Bacon that 'Turning dances into figures is a childish curiosity', clarify the gender dynamics of the motif of writing-in-dance.¹²⁴ Suggesting that the few occasions on which the figured dance was used in the court masque had a substantial impact, Bacon's choice of terminology is gendered. The term 'childish' implies an effeminacy that reflects the feminine appropriation of the figured dance.¹²⁵ Conceptual links in the early modern period between women and adolescent or young boys are evident in the performance of boy-actors in female roles, and passive and silent femininity implies a childlike lack of force and strength. In addition, the term 'childish' has connotations of the effeminate through the root, 'child'; the OED lists one meaning as 'a female infant, a girl-baby'.¹²⁶ To be

associated with the feminine is to be infantilised and emasculated; Bacon's contemptuous use of the term trivialises female performance and demeans any male participation. The dance, an ideal within courtly discourse, is characterised as trivial and emasculating when it becomes a feminised activity, and correspondingly, the feminine creation of text in dance is held in low esteem.

This gendering is validated by contrasts between contemporary domestic and continental performances. The gendered delineation of Jacobean practice shifts within that of the French *ballet de cour*. For instance, we know that female dancers danced the name of Alcine, the enchantress of the Ballet de Vandosme.¹²⁷ The enchantress' illicit control over the dancers is figured in the unwilling dancing of her name by knights whose transformation into maidens is figured as the last in a series of grotesque shape-changes. This illegitimate expression of control is countered in the dance of the knights, restored to masculinity, to honour their king with the pseudo-Druidic language of the concluding *grand bal*. This would suggest that the 'official' court view considers masculine writing-in-dance more legitimate than its female counterpart. It seems that the *ballet de cour* genders the act of writing-in-dance in a different way than does the Jacobean masque, where dance is a means of performative expression for the women involved in its production. In contrast, in the French *ballet* which permits noble speech for both sexes, legitimate access to the corporeal expression of writing-in-dance is a privilege apparently reserved for the male performer.

Bacon's remarks have an immediate relationship to Cupid's Banishment - White's masquers are indeed 'childish'. Though it is impossible to pinpoint their exact ages, it seems likely that 'our little ladies' (p.83), the 'pretty nymphs' (p.84, 29) are in fact teenagers. Cupid certainly seems to consider them both youthful and sexually available, and they are not referred to as children. In contrast, while John Finnett's description of the dance of the children in Tethys' Festival (1610) uses the same terminology, he comments on the novelty of seeing children dance in a courtly, adult manner:

*the little Ladies performed their Dance to the Amazement of all the Beholders, considering the Tenderness of their Years and the many intricate Changes of the Dance.*¹²⁸

The children of Tethys' Festival are novelties, variants on the antimasquers' opposition of the courtiers' adult virtue. That the performers of Cupid's Banishment are not commented on in this manner suggests that they were not children, but young adults. Presented as erotically costumed gifts to the Queen, they are sexual young women whose chances of a profitable marriage will be increased by royal favour.

Another way of approaching the figured dances of Cupid's Banishment is through the significance they communicate. The dance of Anne's name and royal title in advance of that of James and his heir is an assertion of her authority and royal status, although one tempered by the necessary expression of loyalty to king and future king. In the context of the masque's engagement with the interplay of textual and performative expression, this apparently superficial shift is in fact an alteration of the normally rigid hierarchies of the Renaissance court, exalting the queen consort

over the absent monarch. However, in the wake of Fortune's speech, and the constant vocal praise for Anne in song and verse, it is ironic that James is honoured in the silence of the female dancers, outwardly conformist to the demands of the hegemony of which he is the figurehead. The position of Prince Charles also remains one of interest; his was the name represented in Queens and the only one to be danced twice in Jacobean court entertainment. Although Queens stages a feminine opposition to the mainstream court, the name danced is that of the male Prince and it is revealing that Cupid's Banishment, performed within the court of the female guest of honour, shifts the emphasis to the female.

The sheer extent of the motif of the danced name (three names where previously there was only one) leads one to speculate on the background of its inclusion within this masque. Cerasano and Wynne-Davies question White's familiarity with the masque form, and we can extend this to consider how and why the choreographer should have placed such emphasis on a motif used so infrequently within the Jacobean court.¹²⁹ Such speculation raises more questions than it answers and emphasises the lack of information about Onslo's background in particular and the interaction of masque-writer and choreographer in general; we cannot be sure of the dynamics of their working relationship, or to what extent the choreographer, here credited with the invention of the dance, can be considered an autonomous author.¹³⁰ Yet one available fact is of particular relevance. The texts of Hymenaei and Queens both credit these figured dances to the choreographer Thomas Giles, whose personal domain the writing of names in dance would appear to be.¹³¹ This strongly implies

that Onslo (at least) has, one way or another, been exposed to Giles' masquing work, either in performance or in publication.¹³²

The temporal gap between Cupid's Banishment and Hymenaei and Queens is in itself suggestive. The phenomenon of the figured dance, linguistic or otherwise, seems to be a specific and short-lived feature, discarded after 1609 until the performance of White's masque. Dating from the period of Anne's most intense involvement with the Jacobean masque, for those initiates such as Lucy Russell and Anne herself, Cupid's Banishment is reminiscent of the earlier age of female masquing, a positive use of nostalgia to evoke earlier female performances from the decade before the marginalisation of female masquers in favour of James's male favourites through the extensive recycling of an apparently discarded motif. Yet while she is honoured as the privileged spectator of the masque, the dancing of Anne's name is validated by those more commonly honoured. This need for legitimisation emphasises the limitations of the strategy of writing-in-dance as feminine performative expression; while Anne's name can be danced under the cover of those of her husband and son, the enactment of their names goes a long way towards re-establishing masculine authority within this masque and evoking the contemporary marginalised status of the female performer for those present.

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Standing at the end of Anne of Denmark's masquing career, Cupid's Banishment is the expression of what it is to be a woman within the power structures

of the Jacobean court. The performance of this masque is also the staging of its performers' education, their interaction with the social structures of learning and the pervasive discourse of the courtly woman. Their embroideries, their dance, their attendance at a girls' school and even their presence at the Greenwich court are allusive statements within this masque performance and which find both an expression and a tight bond within that performance. The education which these girls have received (both in literacy and in bodily decorum) prepares them for this performance: they are not only trained to take part in the dance's display of corporeal conformity, but also in the staging of the apparently non-performative aspects of needlework. However scantily, this performance records an extremely suggestive historical moment, one which tells of the shifting relationship of Jacobean courtly women to authority and the performance of power.

The performance of this masque is the enactment of the social histories and experiences of these performers and of their Queen; Cupid's Banishment encapsulates the Jacobean tradition of female performance. In the performance of the memories of earlier masques, White's production draws upon the collective performative consciousness of the court community to make a statement for female performative and political authority in the face of its marginalisation. The dance and the physicalised art of the embroideries are powerful expressions of the memory of movement and significance which resides in the masquing body and which is memorialised in the text. Dance is performance but it is also memory. Memory and memorialisation, alongside the offering and acceptance of the gift, are strong currents within this performance and offer a dual meaning of hope for the future and the

preservation of the acts of the past. The awareness of the masque genre's performative and political past prepares the way for the voicing of female speech.

Conclusion.

Cupid's Banishment, perhaps the first masque to involve a speaking female performer, is also a memorialisation of the masquing tradition of the court of Anne of Denmark. Standing at the end of both her performative career and her life, it documents her earlier involvement with the masque genre before her marginalisation by the male favourites of James I. The methods employed in this are themselves taken from the tradition with which they engage; the corporeal representative strategies utilised in the first decade of the seventeenth century to push upon the constraints of female speech are used again in the second to historicise and facilitate its attainment. Dance is a major aspect of this, the names of the figured dance grant the female masquers entry into a corporeal linguistic expression which is ratified by the parallel physicality of the feminine-authored text of the embroidered emblems.

The positioning of White's masque within its social and political moment is of the greatest value to its staging of female speech. The performers and spectators of Cupid's Banishment exploit the participation of the female elite within a performance forbidden to non-courtly women. This liminal existence on the borders of legitimacy pervades the entire staging of this masque, through the duality of the schoolgirls' courtly membership, the positioning of the masque in Anne's Greenwich court, and the liminal status of Greenwich Palace itself in relation to London and to the mainstream court at Whitehall. Dependent upon James for her authority and for the gift of Greenwich Palace, the liminality of Anne's position as queen consort is enacted within Cupid's Banishment; her performance of the queen consort's assumption of the

regency in the monarch's absence is an approach to the power of the throne which indicates the distinction between her perception of the consort's role and that held by James.¹³³ In staging this masque beyond the boundaries of both the conventional court and the city, the threat of female speech is apparently defused (or rather disguised) within an apparently marginal performance; evidence in fact suggests that the masque may have been attended by the nation's elite. It is this liminality that gives Cupid's Banishment its significance; Anne's presence transforms an apparently unimportant school production into a performance of the greatest significance. In the absence of James I, Anne's assumption of the role of the monarch within the masque and the shift of the focus of authority from Whitehall to her own palace at Greenwich is the performative enactment and assumption of the power denied her within political actuality.

Through the specific performance conditions of Cupid's Banishment, Anne and her coterie of culturally engaged women interrogate the very notion of the masque as *court* masque. Female cultural agency and engagement are a means of rewriting and reinterpreting elite power structures through the masque form's specific mode of political performance. The deflection of state ritual away from its usual object (the monarch) and towards the queen consort, is the appropriation of masculine state ritual for the performative definition of the autonomy of the Queen's court. Distanced from Whitehall geographically, but populated by much the same figures, the female performer makes the ultimate approach to performative participation in the speech of Ann Watkins.

Queen Anne's performative enactment of power is based firmly upon the precedents set by her predecessors. As the alien queen consort, Anne stands on the boundaries between different cultural models, actively seeking the political image-making and cultural self-fashioning available to such monarchs as Elizabeth I while drawing on the precedents set by Sophia of Denmark and Mary Stuart. Through this engagement with the structures of courtly power and the women who were queen or queen consort before her, we can show that Anne's role within the court(s) was consciously negotiated, shifting over time.

Such self-conscious self-fashioning is also apparent in the role played by Lucy Russell. Her role as masque patron places her in direct comparison with the cultural engagement of the male courtier. The similarities between the positions of Russell and Bacon are particularly suggestive; they imply that in patronising the performance of the Ladies Hall, Russell facilitates the feminine appropriation of masculine state ritual in direct parallel to the masques of the Inns of Court. Performance is therefore a means of pinpointing the conscious construction of female self-representation and of identifying the progress of this self-consciousness through the ranks of the court elite. The ideologies of female education relate directly to the dissemination of such self-consciousness. Cupid's Banishment stages the education received within the first known English school established specifically for girls; this masque and its performance are structured by the ideologies of female education. Anne's presence at the masque is not only the reception of the school's homage, but is itself a reciprocal validation of the education of women through the gift of royal favour.

The debt to predecessors is further paid within Cupid's Banishment in the acknowledgement of Anne's earlier masquing performances and the recognition of the existence of a tradition of courtly female performance. The status of historical records, given the scarcity of conventional documentation surrounding both the Ladies Hall and this masque itself, has a high profile throughout a consideration of its performance. Indeed, it is performance itself which emerges as the memorialising text of historical and social discourse: performance alone preserves knowledge of the school. In much the same way as historical information is transmitted through an unconventional text, so we must look beyond the conventional means of the memorialisation of performance which are open to the early modern female aristocrat. Within Cupid's Banishment the memorial of the female masquing tradition of Anne's court and its recognition as a meaningful act within a tradition of female performance, are written through the text of the female body. In the out-moded motif of writing-in-dance, nostalgia for past female performance is invoked within the contemporary masque; costume and embroidery are also used to draw upon the memories of previous performances and the strategies used within them to achieve female expression. The interrogation of the masque genre and of the constraints of female performance continues into the final performance of Anne's career. The performing female body is the focus of this masque and of the female approach to linguistic expression within the early modern conceptualisation of femininity. Cupid's Banishment is the performance of speech and memory through the medium of the female body.

Notes to Chapter Four.

¹ I am grateful to Professor Stephen Orgel for his generous help in discussions of this chapter. The manuscript of Cupid's Banishment is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: MS. MA 1296, all editions have been checked against this original. The three published editions are Nichols, James I, III, pp.283-96; C. E. McGee (ed.), 'Cupid's Banishment: A Masque Presented to Her Majesty by Young Gentlewomen of the Ladies Hall, Deptford, May 4, 1617', Renaissance Drama, 19 (1988), 226-64; S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (eds.), Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp.76-90. All references are to the latter volume, and will appear in the text. For further information see the respective introductions by C.E McGee and Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, all of whom postulate that the only surviving manuscript was a presentation copy intended for Lucy Harington Russell.

² Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, p.196, note 6.

³ For example, although Hymenaei pays homage to the bride and bridegroom (Frances Howard and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex) it is James who is the privileged spectator. Likewise in the Barriers celebrating Prince Henry's inauguration as Prince of Wales, it is the father rather than the son whose presence is most exalted; Jonson, Hymenaei and Barriers, in Orgel, Complete Masques, pp.75-106, pp.142-58.

⁴ See D.J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 8 (1945), 107-45.

⁵ Willson, pp.391-3.

⁶ Tense moments of religious ceremony were predicted and came to pass with particular friction caused by the attempt to install 'gilded wooden figures of apostles and patriarchs in the chapel'; Willson, pp.391-2.

⁷ Sir John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton; C. S. P., Domestic (1611-18), IX, p.422.

⁸ For instance, G.P.V. Akrigg writes of Anne, '(Some said that she held a hope, a vain one indeed, that she might be regent in England during her husband's absence)'. The parentheses, lack of scholarly evidence and documentation, and the referral to hearsay and speculation should alert us to the prejudices in this analysis of the Jacobean cultural climate; G.P.V. Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant, or the Court of King James I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p.259. Pearl Hogrefe, Tudor Women: Commoners and Queens (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1975), p.36, p.55, p.68.

⁹ Midaugh documents Anne's response to the quarrel of the Earl of Southampton and Lord Grey, Karen Lee Midaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", pp.45-6; Fradenburg, p.xiv.

¹⁰ 19 January 1617, Giovanni Battista Lionello, Venetian Secretary in England, writes to the Doge and Senate concerning James's proposed progress:

A council of six persons will be set up for the governance of England, comprising the queen, the prince, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasurer and the earl of Worcester.

C. S. P., Venetian 1615-17, XIV, p.412.

¹¹ C. S. P., Venetian 1615-17, XIV, p.480. Williams also states, rather inaccurately, that Bacon was given the regency in place of Anne; Williams, p.187. There is disagreement over the role Charles played on the Council; Charles Carlton, Charles I: The Personal Monarch (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), suggests that Charles played no part in its activities while Pauline Gregg cites his placement on the Privy Council in 1616 and his reception of ambassadors as a sign of his burgeoning role in court politics; Carlton, p.17; Gregg, p.51-2.

¹² Lewalski discusses the marginalising impact of Jacobean absolutism on female political engagement; Lewalski, p.2.

¹³ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton; Elizabeth McClure Thompson (ed.) The Chamberlain Letters (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p.181.

¹⁴ Gerrard to Carleton; C. S. P., Domestic 1611-18, p.464.

¹⁵ Fran C. Chalfont, Ben Jonson's London: A Jacobean Placename Dictionary (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1978), pp.88-9.

¹⁶ Cerasano and Wynne-Davies note the hardening of attitudes towards women and female education and power after the death of Elizabeth I, but they also note that the Stuart era brought the founding of numerous educational establishments for girls that sprung up beyond the confines of the court; S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies, "'From Myself, my Other Self I Turned': An Introduction', in Cerasano and Wynne-Davies (eds.), Gloriana's Face, pp.1-24, pp.16-17. David M. Bergeron also notes the complexity of the position of women in the Jacobean age; David M. Bergeron, 'Women as Patrons of English Renaissance Drama', in Patronage in the Renaissance, ed. by Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.274-92, p.274.

¹⁷ Strong, Henry, Prince of Wales, p.16.

¹⁸ Elissa Weaver surveys the performance traditions of the Tuscan convents of the early modern period, detailing female involvement in both the performance and authorship of plays; Elissa Weaver, 'Spiritual Fun: A Study of Sixteenth-Century Tuscan Convent Theater', in Mary Beth Rose (ed.), Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp.173-205. Alison Shell analyses the Latin performances of continental Jesuit boys' schools and seminaries such as Douai and St. Omer; Alison Shell, 'English Catholicism and Drama 1578-1688' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), Section II, chapter I. The only recorded female school performance in the continental English girls' schools (now lost) was staged within one of the several founded by Mary Ward in the early seventeenth century, which were so controversial that they were suppressed in 1630; A.C.F. Beales, Education Under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II (London: Athlone Press, 1963), pp. 203-4.

¹⁹ See chapter one, 'The Stirling baptismal celebrations: the queen as mother and Medea', and 'Conclusion. The London coronation: the performance of refusal'.

²⁰ Charles wrote to his father after his departure:

'I am sorie for nothing but that I cannot be with your Majestie at this tyme
both because I would be glad to wait upon you, and also to see the Cuntrie
whair I was borne and the customes of it.'

Gregg, from Letters to King James VI from the Queen, Prince Henry, Prince Charles (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1835), pp.51-2.

²¹ C. S. P., Venetian 1615-17, p.495.

²² C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.234-5.

²³ Chamberlain to Carleton, 10 May 1617; C. S. P., Domestic, 1611-18, p.465.

²⁴ Nichols, James I, III, pp.255-82, pp.310-25; Mill, p.55.

²⁵ Lewalski, p.95; Leeds Barroll, 'The Court of the First Stuart Queen', pp.191-2.

²⁶ Beaumont, The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, in Spencer and Wells, p.132.

²⁷ Lewalski, pp.95-99; Hogrefe, p.136.

²⁸ After his involvement in the failed Essex conspiracy of 1601, the Earl of Bedford was fined and exiled from court. Even after the lifting of the ban he was seldom at Whitehall; Lewalski, p.96.

²⁹ Edward Russell's uncle, John Russell, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke and widow of Sir Thomas Hoby. Anne Cooke Bacon was the mother of Frances Bacon, the third sister was Mildred Cooke Cecil.

³⁰ Tina Krontiris, Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance (London: Routledge, 1992), p.14.

³¹ Margaret M. Byard states that Claudius Holyband (De Sainliens) dedicated the Campo di Fior, or the Flowrie Field of Foure Languages to Lucy Russell in her childhood. Further significant dedications include Florio's A Worlde of Wordes, after the author's temporary residence in the Harington home; Margaret M. Byard, 'The Trade of Courtiership: The Countess of Bedford and the Bedford Memorials; a family history from 1585 to 1607', History Today, 29 (1979), 20-28.

³² For further information and analysis of Lucy Russell's masquing career, see Lewalski, pp.95-123; Bergeron, 'Women as Patrons of English Drama', pp.274-92.

³³ Both Lewalski and Bergeron state that Russell organised Jonson's 1617 masque, Lovers Made Men; Lewalski, p.99; Bergeron, 'Women as Patrons of English Drama', p.283.

³⁴ John Orrell, The Human Stage: English Theatre Design, 1567-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.38-9, p.62.

³⁵ Dr. Simon Thurley, Curator of Historic Royal Palaces (personal correspondence, 22 April, 1996). Thurley, p.183 for landscapes and views of Greenwich. Radical structural work was done in 1582-3 which appears to be intended to give the building extra support in order to make it more permanent; Colvin, IV, Part II, p.109. The position of the hall is identifiable from the survival of its later undercroft beneath the Queen Anne's block of the Royal Hospital which was built on the accession of James I beneath the existing timber hall, perhaps to counteract settlement; Colvin, IV, part II, p.103; IV, part II, p.111.

³⁶ Orrell, p.109.

³⁷ Evidence for this is taken from Edward Hall's description of the 1527 embassy; Edward Hall, Hall's Chronicle (London: J. Johnson, F.C. & J. Rivington [etc.], 1809), p.847. It would seem that these scaffoldings, too, are not permanent, since there are records of the setting-up of scaffolds in the hall nearly every Christmas for Twelfth Night festivities: Colvin, IV, part II, p.103.

³⁸ These decorative motifs are specified in the description of the events of 1527 left by the Venetian observer Gasparo Spinelli; Anglo, p.214.

³⁹ A painted canvas ceiling by Hans Holbein covered with cosmological designs by Nicolaus Kratzer (Henry VIII's horologist) forms part of a decorative strategy which lays out the land, sea and heavens in scholarly detail. On 7 May 1527, after the departure of the French embassy, the ceiling was taken down and put into storage; Anglo, pp.212-19. Colvin records that Hans Holbein was employed, as were the sculptor Giovanni da Maiano and the Italian painters Vincent Volpe and Ellys Carmyan; Colvin, IV, part II, p.102. For further analysis, see David Starkey, 'The Banqueting House: The Reception of 1527', in Henry VIII: A European Court in England, ed. by David Starkey (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), pp.54-7; Simon Thurley, 'Greenwich Palace', in Starkey, pp.20-5; Susan Foister, 'Holbein as Court Painter', in Starkey, pp.58-64. Simon Thurley points out that for the arrival of a further French embassy in the autumn of 1527, Holbein's old scenery was discarded in favour of

an entirely new set of designs; Thurley, 'The Banqueting and Disguising Houses of 1527', in Starkey, pp.64-9, p.66.

⁴⁰ While there is evidence of the speedy replacement of the successive queen consorts' arms in the decorative schema of Greenwich Palace, there is no evidence of Anne having had her own *imprese* inserted in their place; Colvin, IV, part II, p.105.

⁴¹ Thurley, p.35.

⁴² On 19 February 1614, James I assigned Greenwich to Anne for the remainder of her life; Colvin, IV, part II, p.113.

⁴³ Colvin, IV, part II, p.112.

⁴⁴ Colvin, III, part I, p.119.

⁴⁵ Colvin, III, part I, p.138.

⁴⁶ Chamberlain to Carleton; C. S. P., Domestic, 1611-18, p.473.

⁴⁷ John Summerson, Inigo Jones, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p.44. James Lees-Milne has this to say about the Queen's House:

It is of very great - perhaps of the very greatest - importance in the history of our domestic architecture, since it is the first absolutely classical example to have been begun in England.

James Lees-Milne, The Age of Inigo Jones (London: Batsford Ltd, 1953), p.66.

⁴⁸ Graham Parry, The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981) p.153. Lees-Milne, p.66.

⁴⁹ Summerson, pp.47-8. Furthermore, Colvin declares

We have, unfortunately, no knowledge of the extent to which the structure completed in 1629-38 was loyal to the design selected in 1616, but since the plan was presumably fixed by the first phase of building changes cannot have been radical.

Colvin, IV, part II, p.122. For the dispute over the design put in hand, see John Harris, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong (eds.), The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973), pp.96-7.

⁵⁰ Summerson, p.47. Palme states that the design of the 1619 Banqueting House is that of a double cube raised on a basement; Palme, p.178.

⁵¹ This is not necessarily a marker of the unimportance of female education to historiography, McGee notes that no pre-1800 Deptford records survive at all; C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.228. There follows a brief summary of the recorded facts. White's text marks Deptford as the school's location: McGee notes that all pre-1800 records of the parish are destroyed, pointing out that John Evelyn's 1623 sketch map of London does not show any evidence of the school, although Dews, in The History of Deptford, speculates that the school was 'probably in the rural thoroughfare leading from the Globe Inn to the Water-gate'; C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.228, p.236 note 5, citing Dews, The History of Deptford, p.177. Dorothy Gardiner gives perhaps the most comprehensive record of the school; describing the Ladies Hall as the first public school for girls for which any record can be found and stating that it was 'patronized by the daughters of the nobility and gentry', she discusses Cupid's Banishment as the site of available evidence. Dorothy Gardiner, English Girlhood at School: A Study of Women's Education through Twelve Centuries (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp.209-11.

⁵² Gardiner, p.209.

⁵³ Enid Welsford, The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p.197, and cited in C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.228.

⁵⁴ C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.228 and Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, p.77.

⁵⁵ C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', pp.259-61.

⁵⁶ Torphichen accompanied James VI on his 1589 voyage to Scandinavia as a member of the king's privy chamber; Gibson Craig, Appendix III, p.23; C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.259; Dictionary of National Biography, Nichols, James I; Gardiner, pp.209-11. For Mistress Oungelo, see C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.260.

⁵⁷ C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.259.

⁵⁸ Hogrefe, p.102, p.111.

⁵⁹ Ronald H. Bainton, 'Learned Women in the Europe of the Sixteenth Century', in Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past, ed. by Patricia H. Labalme (New York: New York University Press, 1980), pp.117-28, p.118. Rozsika Parker, The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine (London: The Women's Press, 1986), p.73.

⁶⁰ Hogrefe, p.112. For an analysis of More's position, see Pamela Joseph Benson, The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England (University Park, Penn.: Penn. State University Press, 1992), p.157.

⁶¹ Cited in Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p.88.

⁶² Gardiner, p.232.

⁶³ This shift, and the reluctance of many parents to allow their daughters to learn foreign languages and Latin in particular, is described by Hogrefe, p.5, p.116.

⁶⁴ Margaret J.M. Ezell, The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), p.11.

⁶⁵ Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, "'From Myself, my Other Self I Turned": An Introduction', in Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Gloriana's Face, pp.1-24, p.16.

⁶⁶ Henderson and McManus, p.90. Josephine Kamm identifies the Ladies Hall as a 'public' school, and in so doing also defines it as a boarding school. Although this is a likely assumption, it is one for which we have no proof; Josephine Kamm, Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History (London: Methuen, 1965), p.68.

⁶⁷ The school attended by Perwich taught music, dancing, calligraphy, accountancy, housewifery, cookery, crafts in silver, straw, glass, wax, gum and fine embroidery; Parker, p.83. The social status of those attending the Ladies Hall is ratified by Gardiner, who states that it was 'patronized by the daughters of the nobility and gentry'; Gardiner, p.209.

⁶⁸ Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, p.77, p.78; C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.228. For the dissemination of the emblem form, see Bath, pp.1-27.

⁶⁹ The education of the daughters of the aristocracy by male teachers within the family home was not an uncommon event, girls often shared their brothers tutors, or in the case of those like Lady Anne Clifford who was taught by Samuel Daniel, had their own. Referring to the practice of the Italian Renaissance, Margaret King writes that 'almost never did a girl attend an independent school taught by a male teacher', but this does not seem to be the case in Britain; Margaret L King, Women of the Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago University Press, 1991), p.186.

⁷⁰ Little evidence can be gathered from the Tudor era; information on the female role as educator is sketchy because the ecclesiastical authorities categorised the work of schoolmistresses as informal. Jay Pascal Anglin, The Third University: A Survey of Schools and Schoolmasters in the Elizabethan Diocese of London (Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions, 1985), p.86.

⁷¹ Labalme 'Introduction', in Labalme, pp.1-2, for information on the convent tradition. Professional teachers were always male, women could only teach in convents.

⁷² For example, in 1573-4, Richard Mulcaster's pupils gave their ill-fated performance of Timoclea at the Siege of Thebes at court, which was so dull that the masque scheduled as a sequel was cancelled; W.R. Streitberger, H.R. Woudhuysen and John Pitcher (eds.), Jacobean and Caroline Revels Accounts, 1603-42 (Oxford: Malone Society Collections, 1986), 13, p.xx.

⁷³ Speeches to the Queen at Bisham, 1592, in Nichols, Queen Elizabeth, III, pp.130-6.

⁷⁴ The first description of the women is of 'Pan, and two Virgins keeping sheepe, and sowing in their samplers'; again the ideal female occupation acts as a marker of female chastity and, as we shall see, as an appeal for the validity of female speech; Nichols, Queen Elizabeth, III, p.133.

⁷⁵ Speeches to the Queen at Bisham, 1592, in Nichols, Queen Elizabeth, III, p.134. Pan himself is given an interesting commentary on the position of women and their relationship to language and the textual arts of writing and embroidery: 'How doe you burne time, and drowne beauty, in pricking of clouts, when you should be penning of Sonnets?' (p.133). Given the production of female speech and Elizabeth's own sonnet-writing and translations, this could be seen as a valid suggestion. In the denial of one through the other, the activities are in fact connected, embroidery is linked with writing and poetry and the entertainment reveals the significances that it carries, ones that are wrapped up in the feminine ideal.

⁷⁶ Aurelian Townshend, Tempe Restored, in Orgel and Strong, II, pp.478-503. Sabol, pp.23-4.

⁷⁷ John Milton, A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle, in Milton: Poetical Works, ed. by Douglas Bush (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp.109-39.

⁷⁸ Orgel, Impersonations; John Creaser, "'The Present Aid of this Occasion": The Setting of Comus', in Lindley, The Court Masque, pp.111-34.

⁷⁹ This is confirmed by the manuscript copy.

⁸⁰ The letter was written to the Rev. Joseph Mead, 3 December 1626; Orgel and Strong, I, p.389.

⁸¹ Villiers was at the French court in 1623 during the ill-fated journey to Spain with Prince Charles I to claim the hand of the Spanish Infanta. F. de Lauze, Apologie de la danse (1623).

⁸² I am very grateful to Dr. James Knowles for sharing his discovery of this *ballet de cour*.

⁸³ Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, p.86.

⁸⁴ G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), V, p.1258.

⁸⁵ C.L. Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic form and its Relation to Social Custom (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), p.25.

⁸⁶ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Carnival: A People's Uprising at Romans 1579-80, trans. by Mary Feeny (London: Scholar Press, 1980), p.191.

⁸⁷ Jonathan Goldberg discusses the letter which James wrote to Elizabeth in 1585, offering her gifts "to be used and imployed by you as a loving mother would use hir naturall and devoted chylde." He goes on to say that 'James had replaced his mother with Elizabeth; angling for her inheritance, he sacrificed his mother for it', excusing Elizabeth for Mary Stuart's execution and participating in the fantasy that she had no part in his mother's death. Goldberg, pp.15-6.

⁸⁸ Sara Jayne Steen, 'Fashioning an Acceptable Self: Arbella Stuart', English Literary Renaissance, 18 (1988), 78-95 (p.80).

⁸⁹ Barber, p.25.

⁹⁰ Thomas Randolph comments that Mary Fleming's performance in the role showed "how fit a match she would be"; C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', pp.231-2.

⁹¹ See chapters two and three; Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.15-8.

⁹² Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', p.90.

⁹³ As McGee points out, it is more than likely that Anne's goddaughters would be named after her; C.E. McGee, 'Cupid's Banishment', p.264. As the list of masquers shows four girls named Anne, two of these must be discounted. It is Nichols who comes down most firmly on the side of Anne Chalenor and Anne Sandeland; Nichols, James I, III, p.295.

⁹⁴ See chapter two, 'Concepts and discourse of the dance', for revisionist dance criticism; for the same approach to needlework, see Parker.

⁹⁵ While needlework was the domain of all women, in the lower classes it was a necessary labour for the economic welfare of the family unit. Upper class women did embroider for the display of their house but their work was a graceful attribute and a means of drawing praise and admiration rather than a necessary means of employment;

Sewing may have suggested a pleasing modesty, but embroidery conferred noble distinction. It was, traditionally, a badge of status.

Parker, p.63.

⁹⁶ Parker states that even the 'proto-feminist' Christine de Pisan recommended embroidery as a means of avoiding the temptations of idleness;

If they understand less, it is because they do not go and see so many different places and things, but stay at home and mind their own work.

Parker, p.74, citing Christine de Pisan, Le Livre des Trois Vertus, 1497 (1505, 1536).

⁹⁷ Parker, p.96.

⁹⁸ Parker, p.64.

⁹⁹ Parker cites a letter to Ben Jonson from William Drummond in 1619 which describes this bed and about forty of its images and mottoes; Parker, p.78. Michael Bath also refers to the designs of the bed, pinpointing Mary's device of "the Loadstone turning towards the pole, the word her Majesties name turned in an anagram, Maria Stuart, sa vertu m'attire."; Bath, p.17, citing Drummond. For further information, see Margaret H. Swain, Historical Needlework: A Study of Influences in Scotland and

Northern England (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1970); George Wingfield Digby, Elizabethan Embroidery (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1964).

¹⁰⁰ Nichols, Queen Elizabeth, II, pp.65-91.

¹⁰¹ Parker, p.96.

¹⁰² Parker, p.77; Bath, p.17.

¹⁰³ J. Max Patrick (ed.), The Complete of Poetry of Robert Herrick (New York: New York University Press, 1963), p.307. Furthermore, 'Rosemarie is for remembrance' is the first line of the Elizabethan love poem cited in Hyder E. Rollins (eds.), A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584) by Clement Robinson and Divers Others (New York: Dover Publications, 1965), p.4.

¹⁰⁴ John L. Nevinson documents the existence of the Lord Falkland bodice which is embroidered with emblems taken from Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes (1586); John L. Nevinson, 'English Domestic Embroidery Patterns of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Walpole Society, 28 (1939-40), part I. Huston Diehl does not have a listing for either the rosemary or acorn, although he does provide examples of emblems of the oak tree. Whitney has an emblem of the oak tree breaking in the wind and the motto 'Vincit qui patitur' and later has an emblem of the sun setting behind a fallen oak to signify the end of all things and of his book; Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes (Leyden, 1586), p.220, p.230. This listing is provided by Huston Diehl, Index of Icons in English Emblem Books, 1500-1700 (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986). The oak tree is also found as Alciati's emblem 42 with the motto 'The most steadfast cannot be uprooted'.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Shorleyker's 1632 pattern book includes marginal patterns for the embroidery of oak leaves and acorns; Shorleyker, Here Followeth Certaine Patternes of Cut-workes: and but once Printed before ... (London: Richard Shorleyker, 1632), p.52, p.53. Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1504. This is partially reprinted by Clare Putnam, Flowers and Trees of Tudor England (London: Hugh Evelyn, 1972).

¹⁰⁶ William Henry Black identifies this manuscript as a pattern for manuscript illustration; William Henry Black, Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed to the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole Esq. MD, FRS, Windsor Herald (1845). The suggestion that this manuscript may have been used for the skilled illuminators or for those in need of attaining such skill is made (with no substantiating evidence) by Wilfred Blunt and Sandra Raphael, The Illustrated Herbal (London: Frances Lincoln, 1994), p.97.

¹⁰⁷ Rycharde Banckes, Herbal (London: Rycharde Banckes, 1525); William Turner, Herball (Collen: Arnold Birckman, 1568); John Gerard, The Herball (London: John Norton, 1597). These are listed in Agnes Arber, Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution. A Chapter in the History of Botany 1470-1670 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912).

¹⁰⁸ John Parkinson, Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris (London: Humfrey Lownes and Robert Young, 1629). He also wrote Theatrum botanicum: The Theater of Plants. Or, an Herball of a Large Extent (London: Thomas Cotes, 1640).

¹⁰⁹ Queen Anne commissioned Salomon de Caus to design the gardens for Greenwich Palace. He later dedicated Institution Harmonique (1615) to his royal patron. Lucy Russell is credited with the design of the gardens at Moor Park in 1617; Strong, Henry Prince of Wales, p.106; Lewalski, p.98.

¹¹⁰ Thomasina Beck, The Embroiderer's Garden (Newton Abbot, Devon: David and Charles, 1988), p.124.

¹¹¹ Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, p.77. Boethius writes,
O happy was that long lost age

Content with nature's faithful fruits
Which knew not slothful luxury
They would not eat before due time
Their meal of acorns quickly found,
And did not know the subtlety
Of making honey sweeten wine,

Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. by V.E. Watts (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), Book II, V, pp.68-9. R.C. Bald, John Donne: A Life (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

¹¹² Beryl Rowland (ed.), Medieval Woman's Guide to Health: The First Gynaecological Handbook (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp.67-147. I would like to thank Sue Niebrzydowski (University of Wolverhampton) for her help in following this line of investigation.

¹¹³ John Gerard, The Herbal, or General History of Plants, ed. by Thomas Johnson (New York: Dover Publications, 1975), p.1294. This use crops up again in Culpeper, in which he says that rosemary cures 'the dumb Palsie or loss of Speech'; Nicolas Culpeper, The English Physician Enlarged (London: W. Churchill, 1718), p.283.

¹¹⁴ Down with the Rosemary and Bayes,
Down with the Myselto;
In stead of Holly, now up-raise
The greener Box (for show.)

Robert Herrick, Ceremonies for Candlemasse Eve, in The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick, ed. by J. Max Patrick (New York: New York University Press, 1963), p.375, 1-4.

¹¹⁵ Gerard, p.1293.

¹¹⁶ The gap between femininised domestic knowledge and masculinised humanistic discourse is, however, not a simplistic one, as the involvement of women such as Mary Stuart in the latter demonstrates. The overlap is a mutual one; not only are women involved in highbrow humanism through education and embroidered emblems (among many other obvious examples), but this discourse is itself brought into play in the sphere of the home and garden. This can be seen in the intricate patterns of the labyrinths of the knot garden, (another complex physical sign-system) and the involvement of learned women in this organic embodiment of humanist speculation.

¹¹⁷ Parker, p.102.

¹¹⁸ Limon, p.50.

¹¹⁹ Parker, p.73.

¹²⁰ Parker, p.104, citing M.R. Mahl and H. Koon, The Female Spectator (London: Indiana University Press, 1977), p.130. Bathsua Reinolds Makin (b. 1600), was herself a woman educated within the remnants of the Tudor tradition; Frances Teague, 'The Identity of Bathsua Makin', Biography, 16 (1993), 1-17; Jean R. Brink, 'Bathsua Reinolds Makin, "Most Learned Matron"', Harvard Language Quarterly, 54 (1991), 313-26.

¹²¹ See chapter two, 'Dance and language: the dances of the main masque', 'The patterning of the dance'.

¹²² In The Vision, the dance consists 'of divers strains framed unto motions circular, square, triangular, with other proportions exceeding rare and full of variety'; Spencer and Wells, p.30, 173-75. The first masque dance of The Masque of Beauty ends in 'the figure of a diamond'.

¹²³ The issue of counting the number of female masquing performances is confused by Anne's unprecedented performance in Campion's Somerset Masque (1613); see chapter three, 'Performing the King's will (II): court factionalism and Campion's Somerset Masque'.

¹²⁴ Francis Bacon, 'Of Masques and Triumphs', p.99.

¹²⁵ I am grateful to Professor Stephen Orgel for this suggestion.

¹²⁶ In addition, a citation from The Winter's Tale (1611) places the terminology firmly within the appropriate time-frame, although the passage quoted is the shepherd's musing 'A very pretty barne: A boy, or a Childe I wonder?' which simultaneously implies that it was primarily a lower-class or rustic dialect term. Other listings offer further support for this theory:

It has been pointed out that child or my child is by parents used more frequently (and longer) of, and to, a girl than a boy. Shakespeare nowhere uses "my child" of or to a son, but frequently of or to a daughter.

¹²⁷ Alcine proclaims:

Par mes Demons familiers,
J'ay changé des Chevaliers,
Qui superbes en leurs armes,
N'adoroient point ny mes yeux ny mes charmes.

Mes yeux ne peuvent forcer
Leur trop fidelle penser,
Mais mon savoir, qui me vange,
Couvre leurs corps d'une figure estrange.

Ballet de Vandosme (1610), in Lacroix, I, p. 247. Diagrams of the male dancers' symbols are given with their desired interpretations; Lacroix, I, pp. 265-69. They are also published and analysed in Franko, Dance as Text, pp.17-8.

¹²⁸ Orgel and Strong, I, p.192.

¹²⁹ Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, p.78.

¹³⁰ There appears to be no available information on the identity of Mr. Onslo.

¹³¹ Orgel, Complete Masques, p.476, p.140. Davies further identifies Giles as the organist of St. Paul's; Davies, Thomas Campion, p.205.

¹³² Cerasano and Wynne-Davies suggest that White (and I would extend this to Onslo) may have come into contact with performative devices of the masque through the 1616 publication of Jonson's Folio; Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, p.78.

¹³³ Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", p.29.

Conclusion. The legacy of Anne of Denmark: female performance in the Caroline court and beyond.

On 2 March 1619, almost two years after the performance of Cupid's Banishment, Queen Anne died at Hampton Court, the scene of her first English masquing performance. In these final years she was marginalised from political and cultural authority; the Venetian ambassador wrote that

of late her Majesty had to bear a change of fortune [...] She lost her health and fell out of favour with the king, while her following of courtiers and her royal adornments fell away from her. Thus at the end of her days, at the age of 44, she had nothing but to lament her sins and to show herself, as she was always believed to be, very religious and sincere in the worship of the true God.

Her Majesty's death does not make the slightest difference in the government of these Kingdoms, except the falling in of 200,000 crowns a year to the king with a quantity of rich and precious belongings and the dismissal of a countless throng of servants and officials. But this loss should grieve your Serenity owing to the love which the queen bore for the republic and for the confidential way with which she dealt with our ambassadors.¹

Anne's marginalisation is undeniable, her funeral delayed by financial crisis for a month longer than tradition dictated. This is also, however, the period of ongoing negotiations for the costly construction of Inigo Jones's third Whitehall Banqueting House - the house of state performance is a more eloquent marker of magnificence than a consort's funeral.²

As my analysis of Somerset and Cupid's Banishment has shown, the Queen and the courtly female aristocrat were also marginalised from performance. Yet this does not negate her previous influence, but instead demonstrates the fluctuations of individual status within an unstable court structure. Anne's marginalisation comes at the end of a career of oppositional political engagement, cultural agency and transgressive performance, the extent of which is shown in ambassadorial struggles for precedence at her masques and in the use of her apartments as a debating forum for the policy of a Spanish match for Prince Henry.³ Donato's appeal for Anne is founded on her previous opposition to the 'official' court culture of James's Protestant pacifism and her own sustained Catholicism. Though in the second decade of the English Jacobean court Anne could not secure the regency, such exclusion does not negate a lengthy career of engagement and agency.

Anne's death and its aftermath are further instances of the representation of the royal female within state ritual. To what extent can the Queen's agency be identified in the funeral ceremonial of 13 May 1619? To answer this, my interpretation will build upon research conducted by Jennifer Woodward into royal English Renaissance funerals.⁴ The details of the funeral ritual demonstrate a covert rejection of the representation of the queen consort demanded by the mainstream Jacobean court. Anne's Catholicism contributes to her ceremonial definition as queen consort in this final state ritual as it does in earlier performances. Royal female desire, enacted after death, attempts a self-scripting representation in the face of the manipulation of state ceremonial by James's court. The will of the culturally engaged royal woman continues to be (covertly) asserted after death.

Donato's appeal to Anne's Catholicism relates suggestively to her representation in Jacobean death rituals. There is contemporary uncertainty over the actual process of the Queen's death; some reports describe it as 'free from all Popery', while Donato asserts her Catholicism.⁵ Certainly, Protestant representatives were present; Anne died in the presence of Prince Charles and members of the privy council, and Chamberlain comments that 'She was earnestly moved by the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Privie Seale and the bishop of London to prepare herself and set all things in order, but she could not be perswaded that her end was so neere'.⁶ Yet this report of Anne's seeming unawareness of her impending death contradicts Sir Edward Harwood's account that 'Mayerne [her surgeon] told her, as she had requested him to do, when she was within twenty-four hours of her end'.⁷ Might these inconsistencies in fact conceal a hidden space for Catholic death rites? If so, it would conform to the pattern of private freedom concealed by public conformity so favoured by James I and followed throughout most of Anne's career.

It seems however, that Anne did not compose a written will. Though there are inconsistencies, accounts of a verbal will consistently assert that the bulk of Anne's estate was bequeathed to Prince Charles.⁸ Even in death, such a ratification of the queen consort's authority through the heir threatened James I's sovereignty. Its discursive impact is perhaps best exemplified in the comments of the Venetian ambassador, who stresses Anne's status as queen consort and creates her as the heir to Elizabeth I:

before dying, she [Anne] had time to embrace the prince, her son, and had this satisfaction as mother of the succeeding king. [...] She was daughter and sister of the King of Denmark, went

to Scotland as the wife of a king, succeeded to the greatness, [...] and the royal condition of the renowned Elizabeth.⁹

However, Harwood wrote that Anne 'verbally left all to the Prince, but the King thinks he himself ought to be heir, as nearest to her'.¹⁰ James disregarded Anne's desires and broke up the estate to pay for her funeral, his summer progress and gifts for his favourites.¹¹ In the absence (or erasure) of female writing, the queen's voice is marginalised and the female will - in both senses - elided. James's appropriation of the role of heir deflects the maternal relationship to reassert Anne's dependency upon his sovereign power.

The ritual apparatus of the official funeral ceremonial itself marked the distinction between queen consort and regnant, omitting the helmet and gauntlets of the monarch in the first consort's funeral since that of Jane Seymour.¹² The king's absence, although traditional, further reinforces the bond between consort and heir as Charles processes in front of his mother's hearse.¹³ Woodward identifies Anne's funeral as the locus of factional and representational conflict. In contrast to the increasing popularity of torch-lit nocturnal funerals (with their Catholic connotations), Anne's funeral procession, organised by the King's household was conducted in daylight under Protestant rites.¹⁴ The procession was not successful. Chamberlain's description of the 'drawling, tedious sight' is eloquent; although more costly than either Elizabeth I's or Prince Henry's funerals, the procession's lack of courtly magnificence is a potent image of Anne's marginalisation and the Countesses of Arundel and Nottingham's struggle for precedence as chief mourner reveals the extent of court faction.¹⁵

Despite the divisive nature of the 'official' ritual and Anne's simultaneous marginalisation and appropriation within state ceremonial, there are signs of an assertion of her previous opposition and identity. Chamberlain described the refusal of certain unidentified Catholic women to 'staine their profession with going to our church or service upon any shew of solemnitie, a straunge boldnes and such as would not have bene so easilie digested in some times'.¹⁶ Both this assertion and its toleration are significant. As in the 1603 coronation, the ritual definition of queenship is disrupted by the public assertion of female religious difference. Anne's funeral, however, presents even more direct assertions of opposition, highly suggestive both of an oppositional agency within Anne's court and of accommodation by James himself. Difference and factionality become pronounced in the covert burial ritual of 5 March 1619.

Woodward sites the multiple burial ceremonies granted to Anne within a Catholic tradition.¹⁷ The nocturnal ritual of 5 March strongly suggests that direction of at least part of Anne's funeral ceremonial was under the control of her household. After her disembowelling and embalming, Anne's viscera were taken down the Thames under cover of darkness and given a covert separate burial in the Henry VII chapel of Westminster Abbey. This clandestine nocturnal rite, performed with little ceremony and heraldry, has strong Catholic connotations. It was also, however, the practice of the Protestant court elite, as the separate interment of the Earl of Buckingham's bowels in Portsmouth in 1628 demonstrates.¹⁸ Capable of multiple interpretations, this ritual can be read as a ceremonial assertion of Anne's oppositional

Catholicism, fitting the established accommodation (and manipulation) of private difference behind a public display of conformity.

One of the most striking features of the mainstream Protestant funeral procession is the hearse. Anne's catafalque, for which two possible designs survive, was designed by Inigo Jones in his last architectural/scenic commission for the Queen.¹⁹ Though it is not certain that Jones's design was used, the hearse has been identified (with some controversy) with a surviving design (figure 26); this design does not fit the King's Works' description of a hearse built for Anne in the chapel of Somerset House. Whichever design was finally constructed, however, a stone catafalque remained in Westminster Abbey until at least the 1630s, temporarily serving as a monument.²⁰ Though Llewellyn interprets the lack of a tomb as a marker of Stuart dynastic security, contrasting with the early English Stuart tomb-building projects when the tombs of Mary Stuart, Elizabeth Tudor, and the princesses Sophia and Mary were all built, Jones's stone hearse was a semi-permanent monument.²¹ In comparison to the wooden catafalques of Prince Henry and Elizabeth I, Anne's was an architectural construct; juxtaposing stone monument and clothed wooden effigy in an amalgamation of tomb and hearse.

Jones's (projected) hearse reworks one of the most prominent images of Anne's masque performances, the fruit-laden golden tree. This emblem of royal female fertility reconfigures the representation of the queen consort's consummated sexuality in *Blackness*, a process substantially reversed in its manipulation as both a compliment to Anne and a symbol of the punishment of the transgressive female in

Campion's Somerset Masque.²² Particularly resonant in view of James I's recent appropriation of the role of heir, the tree stands above Anne's effigy marking the appropriation of the royal female's ceremonial representation. The emblem of the golden tree is the site of conflict in Anne's ritual representation, restaged in her funeral as a complex symbol of debated significance. In combination with the caryatids which surround Anne's effigy with an architectural female community, Jones's projected hearse is a strong restatement of the multivalent significances of his queen's iconography.

Jones's design shows Anne's upright effigy wearing a crown and robes, and holding an orb and sceptre. As Woodward points out, the effigy, representing the body in the coffin beneath, is a traditional feature of a queen consort's funeral.²³ Distinguished from the recumbent effigies of Prince Henry and Elizabeth I, this unusual upright effigy is in fact replaced by a recumbent one in the executed hearse design. Reminiscent of the 'dramatic' upright posture of English Renaissance tomb sculpture, the effigy expresses the duality of the hearse-as-tomb.²⁴ Strongly expressive of Anne's status as queen consort, the effigy's coronation imagery is a defining symbol of her queenship and an invocation of the legacy of female authority inherited from Elizabeth I. Reminiscent of the reification of Anne's body as the passive site of ritual definition during her Edinburgh coronation, allusions to her ceremonial representation are redolent of female monumentalisation. The passive female body of Edinburgh, the locus of conflict between king and kirk, becomes the hearse's wooden effigy - the icon of the female statue. Defined by the surgeon and the embalmer, the royal body itself literally becomes the passive corporeal component of the dichotomy

between ‘carcass’ and ‘spirit’ which Jonson establishes in Blackness. However, Jonson’s polarised conceptualisation of the masque form cannot adequately represent its female performers. The female community of caryatids recalls the architectural representation of the masquers and the caryatids who surround Anne in Queens; the image of the reanimated female statue, so prominent in The Lords’ Masque, is taken to its endpoint as the female masquing community become statues.²⁵ Within this community, the effigy is reminiscent of the London coronation and of Anne’s rejection of reification through volitional, self-imposed stasis. The effigy is both the culmination of the reification of the female body within religio-political state ritual and a re-staging of a destabilising and controversial female performance.

It is tempting to speculate that this dualistic iconographical interpretability is precisely the reason why Jones’s hearse was not built, but such a suggestion is not watertight. Expressive of both female authority and marginalisation, this hearse presents a complex and debated set of images. The juxtaposition of hearse and clandestine Catholic funeral implies the performance of an alternative representation of royal femininity alongside the mainstream court’s ‘official’ Protestant rites. Significantly, the true beneficiary of the consort’s intercessionary position near the king is Villiers, to whom James gave Somerset House after Anne’s death.²⁶

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The hearse is Jones’s last architectural design for Anne, interrupting his commission for the Queen’s House at Greenwich, later completed for Henrietta

Maria.²⁷ As she takes up the material legacy of the Queen's House, the Caroline consort's cultural agency also demonstrates her predecessor's influence. Just as Anne reworks the legacies of Elizabeth I and Catherine of Aragon, so Henrietta Maria must negotiate the inheritance of Anne's cultural self-fashioning and the aristocratic female performance of political and cultural difference.²⁸ Though for both women, the role of queen consort is heightened by its recent rarity, Henrietta Maria's status as Anne's successor is itself emphasised by the novelty of the most direct succession of consorts in over a century. Connected by their shared difference from mainstream Stuart court culture, both Anne and Henrietta Maria use performance as a medium for the exploration of difference. Alien, Catholic queen consorts, these women expose the English court to the disparate influences of European court culture, and distinct European courtly traditions of performance and femininity. The informality of a French court in which female vocal performance in *ballets* is commonplace is reflected in Henrietta Maria's unfamiliarity with English court performance conventions. The French model of performance which Peacock has identified as current throughout Anne's engagement with the masque form is necessarily heightened under Henrietta Maria.²⁹ Anne's court performances are a significant precedent for the development of courtly and professional female performance in the Caroline court and the later professional Restoration theatres. Discussing both the continuities and breaks between the court cultures of the two Stuart queens, I will briefly indicate ways in which Anne's cultural legacy is sustained and moved forwards.

Henrietta Maria's court coterie, political engagement and performance are the subject of revisionary criticism.³⁰ In her analysis of the Caroline court female actor, Sophie Tomlinson applies Maus' argument that the introduction of the Restoration female actor was a non-event 'precisely because the cultural event provoked by women's acting had already taken place'.³¹ I suggest that this cultural moment can be further back-dated, recognising the influence of the ground-breaking performances of the female masquers of the court of Anne of Denmark. Tomlinson prioritises acting over masquing on the grounds that it offers the performer greater expressive potential; however, this thesis has demonstrated the powerful expressivity of the Jacobean female masquer, destabilising the often-unexamined opposition between female vocality and silence.³² Rich in political and gendered significance, the aesthetics of Anne's performances offer a greater female expressivity than has previously been realised, and are of great significance within the masque genre's approach to the performance of politics.

The controversies of Anne's performances are the result of many of the discourses of cultural and gender difference which impact upon those of Henrietta Maria. The Caroline court's disparate centres of power mirror Jacobean factionality, and the Stuart queens were the heads of powerful court groupings. Although critical opinion differs over the extent of Henrietta Maria's agency, recent investigations reveal her to be a force in both political and performed court life.³³ Her political involvement was explicit in the civil war, when she stood at the head of the royalist army. Her open Catholicism and her anti-Spanish sentiment made her the figurehead of opposition to what Butler terms the 'official' Caroline court culture.³⁴ The primary

difference between Jacobean and Caroline masques is that Charles I was himself a masquer; he and his consort had occasion to perform together.³⁵ Yet political and gender difference are embodied in the entertainments staged by and for Henrietta Maria.

The development of female performance was significantly forwarded by Henrietta Maria's acting. The first of three pastoral plays, Racan's Arténice, performed in 1626, was controversial; the Queen's speech and the transvestite performance of some of her women shocked even the select audience.³⁶ However, the most famous scandal surrounds Prynne's Histrio-Mastix and its reference to 'women-actors - notorious whores'. Published in 1633 and associated with Henrietta Maria's performance in The Shepherd's Paradise, the repercussions of this attack and the court's support for the Queen clearly demonstrate that the association between the female voice and a transgressive sexuality, though strong in Puritan quarters, is less insuperable in the court. The progression to female acting is not unimaginable in a court accustomed to a tradition of female masque performance which pushes upon generic boundaries so blatantly as does Anne's performance in Blackness.

Though the progression from female masquing to acting is a significant distinction between the Jacobean and Caroline female courts, there are connections between these modes of performance. The liberation of the aristocratic female voice in performance is firmly grounded in the court of Anne of Denmark, where the female masquing voice is first heard in White's 1617 Cupid's Banishment. This innovation predates Henrietta Maria's acting, the infamous 'pippin-pelted' performance of French

female actors at the Blackfriars (1629), and the professional female singers of Townshend's masque Tempe Restored (1632).³⁷ The female voice is not imported into English court performance by the French queen, but develops throughout Anne's performances, culminating in Ann Watkins' speech. The Jacobean female masquer's relationship to linguistic expression is far more complex than has been assumed. Within the threatening association of the female body with language and sexuality, the female masquers' performance cannot be clearly distanced from linguistic expression. The pictorialisation of language and the expressivity of the emblematic female body in Blackness (1605), for example, demonstrate that the female masquer's physicalisation does not exclude her from linguistic expression but instead results in the physicalisation of language itself.³⁸ The use of the physical texts of dance and embroidery in masques such as Cupid's Banishment, in conjunction with the staging of female speech, further push back the boundaries of female expression. Though unrepeatable, Cupid's Banishment demonstrates that factions of the Jacobean court were already susceptible to such developments. From the moment when women stepped onto the stage which Jones imported into the masque genre in Blackness, female performance assumes a greater theatricality. Henrietta Maria forwards a process begun by her predecessor.

The development of female performance runs alongside the emergence of the female dramatic author. Such early figures as Elizabeth I and Mary Sidney are followed by aristocratic Stuart and Interregnum writers such as Elizabeth Cary, Mary Wroth and Margaret Cavendish who prefigure the professional Restoration dramatists Aphra Behn and Delariviere Manley.³⁹ More immediately relevant, however, is the

prefiguration of the co-performance of transvestite male actors and professional female actors on the Restoration stage almost sixty years earlier in the Jacobean court masque.⁴⁰ Suzanne Gossett's analysis of the explicit confrontation of the male transvestite and female performance of femininity in Tempe Restored demonstrates the Caroline masque's shifting casting conventions, but my analysis of Queens shows that an awareness of such a juxtaposition is a feature of early Jacobean courtly entertainments. Yet the emergence of the female performer and playwright is not an unobstructed linear progression towards the Restoration; the fluctuations in Anne's own political and performance status suggest otherwise. In fact, female involvement in covert performances in aristocratic houses during the closure of the theatres perhaps suggests that the Interregnum aided the emergence of the female actor onto the Restoration stage.⁴¹ What must be rejected is the notion that no long-established domestic precedent for such performance existed, when the stage conditions of the early Restoration theatres were in fact prefigured in the most elite of performance arenas.

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Anne of Denmark's masquing career is fertile ground for the analysis of the gendered aesthetics of early modern performance. While recent criticism has recognised the significance of courtly female cultural agency, the embodiment of this agency within the detail of masque performance and its contribution to the development of female performance has not previously been taken into account. The court masque both performs and influences the gender dynamics of the Jacobean

courts in both Scotland and England and as such offers ideal texts within which to read the perception of gender relationships within early modern courtly society.

The necessity for female performance on the Jacobean masquing stage was created through the masque genre's social foundations and the performative nature of the courtly identity; the court woman must masque. This necessity empowers the female aristocrat through the display and expressivity of the female body. This thesis demonstrates the way in which the textualised female body achieves expression precisely through the masque's constraints, pushing on generic conventions and exploiting the space of necessary female performance. The signifying gendered body becomes a self-willed spectacle as the female masquer places herself at the centre of the stage picture. The masque's disparate performance texts of the female body in dance, costume and movement, the scenic text and the theatricalised social space of performance, combine with non-verbal female-authored texts such as embroidery to contribute towards the expressivity of the performing Jacobean female aristocrat. The performance of these non-verbal texts aids the approach to greater female expressivity, and culminates in the performance of the female voice in Cupid's Banishment. When read as performance rather than as published text, the masque genre's potential for performative expressivity and for the interpretation and analysis of the feminine creation of meaning becomes far greater.

Performance itself is a political tool within the Jacobean court. The detail and aesthetics of the performances of Anne's court stage female opposition to the dictates of the mainstream court (with whatever degree of success). The impact which such

performances achieved is shown in the self-assertion of the feminine performance of refusal in Anne's 1603 coronation and in Love Restored. One marker of such opposition is the staging of the cultural, gender and racial difference of the alien queen consort, subsumed within black performance and the performance of blackness. Existing within the European networks of the courtly performance of magnificence, Anne's performances demonstrate and perpetuate this influence in their iconography. The Somerset Masque's attempt to deny future female performance demonstrates the significance of that performance and the tensions caused by the female stage presence, perceived as threatening despite its necessity and legitimacy.

The constitution of a tradition of female performance is an integral aspect of its development, providing a context for masque analysis and addressing female performance itself as a meaningful activity. The final masque of Anne's career, Cupids Banishment, is predicated on this tradition and the performance of memory within the masquing body. Forwarding female performance in the staging of the female voice, this itself is achieved through the memorialisation of previous female performances. A complex negotiation of centrality and marginalisation, White's masque demonstrates the non-linear development of female performance, itself a series of negotiations, accommodations and defeats within the history of the female Stuart courts.

Anne of Denmark's masque commissions and performances and her active political and cultural engagement contribute to the emergence of female performance. Much remains unstudied, including her non-performative cultural commissionings,

the material culture of her court, and her engagement with the European networks of queenship and performance. But I hope that the re-evaluation of this neglected figure's engagement with the performance of the court masque goes at least some way towards delineating this larger project and redressing the balance of critical neglect. The relatively small number of masques which Anne performed, commissioned or simply witnessed have a substantial impact upon the emergence of female performance both within and beyond the English Renaissance court.

Notes to conclusion.

¹ Antonio Donato to the Venetian Doge and Senate, 14 March 1619; C. S. P., Venetian 1617-19, XV, pp.494-5.

² 19 April 1619, C.S.P.Domestic 1619-23, X, p.37; Parry, p.256. Jennifer Woodward, 'The Ritual Management of Royal Death in Renaissance England: 1570-1625' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1994), 2 vols, II, pp.270-3.

³ Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 13 January 1605; C.S.P.Venetian 1603-7, X, pp.208-9.

⁴ Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death'.

⁵ Sir Edward Harwood to Dudley Carleton, 6 March 1619; C. S. P., Domestic, 1619-23, X, p.21.

⁶ McClure, II, p.219. David Mathew comments that Anne accepted the 'ministrations' of Archbishop of Canterbury although 'she never consented to receive the Anglican sacrament'; David Mathew, Catholicism in England 1535-1935 Portrait of a Minority: Its Cultures and Tradition (London: Catholic Book Club, 1938), p.60; Harwood, C.S.P.Domestic, 1619-23, X, p.21.

⁷ Chamberlain to Carleton, 6 March 1619, C.S.P.Domestic, 1619-23, X, p.20; Sir Edward Harwood to Carleton, 6 March 1619, C.S.P.Domestic, 1619-23, X, p.21.

⁸ Harwood's letter cited above states that a will was made 'in favour of the Prince'; those letters which state that no will was written include a later one by Harwood which retracts the statement of the will, stating that Anne only signed 'a suit for payment of her debts'; Harwood to Carleton, 19 March 1619; C.S.P. Domestic 1619-23, X, p.25. Others which state that Anne had no written will are Chamberlain to Carleton, 6 March 1619; Sir Thomas Edmondes to Carleton, 17 March 1619; Chamberlain to Carleton, 27 March 1619, who says 'The will proves to be nothing'; C.S.P.Domestic 1619-23, X, p.20, p.25, p.27. Some accounts list gifts of jewels to Princess Elizabeth and Christian IV, but all are consistent in ignoring James I; Chamberlain to Carleton, C.S.P.Domestic, 1619-23, X, p.20.

⁹ C.S.P. Venetian 1617-19, XV, pp.494-5.

¹⁰ C.S.P. Domestic 1619-23, X, p.25.

¹¹ For the gifts to Villiers, see C.S.P. Venetian 1617-19, XV, pp.557-8; for gifts to other nobles and for Charles' willingness to yield the legacy to James, see C.S.P. Domestic 1619-23, X, p.25; for the sale of Anne's jewels to finance the summer progress, see Chamberlain, in Nichols, James I, III, p.556.

¹² Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death', pp.273-4.

¹³ Nichols, James I, III, p.539.

¹⁴ Chamberlain, in Nichols, James I, III, p.546; he also notes that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Tounson, preached a sermon - no text survives. Woodward points out that the details of the funeral ritual were arranged by the Earls of Worcester, Pembroke, and Arundel and members of the Privy Council with the advice of the heralds of the College of Arms; Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death', p.273.

¹⁵ Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death', pp.274-5; Nichols, James I, III, p.545.

¹⁶ McClure, II, p.233; Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death', p.275.

¹⁷ Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death', pp.280-3.

¹⁸ Nicholas Stone's monument containing Villiers' bowels, commissioned by his sister Susan Denbigh, is in St. Thomas' cathedral in Portsmouth; Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, The Cathedrals of England: Southern England (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p.233; Hugh Ross Williamson, George Villiers, the First Duke of Buckingham: Study for a Biography (London: Duckworth, 1940), p.230.

¹⁹ Colvin lists Jones as the hearse's designer. The hearse was constructed by the King's Works; there is no specified commissioner. However, the description of the hearse built in the chapel at Somerset House does not fit Jones's surviving design, suggesting that another hearse was indeed built at the outset; Colvin, III, Part I, p.138; IV, Part IV, p.261. The alternative design is reprinted in Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death', II, fig. 85, pp.278-9.

²⁰ John Harris, Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal British Institute of Architects: Inigo Jones and John Webb (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972), no.92, fig.91. Harris expresses doubts about the identification of this design; John Peacock, however, identifies it as a possible design; John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones's catafalque for James I', Architectural History, 25(1982), 1-5, p.2 note 11.

²¹ Nigel Llewellyn, 'The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, For the Living', in Gent and Llewellyn, pp.218-40, p.228.

²² See chapter three, 'Performing the King's will (II): court factionalism and Campion's Somerset Masque'; Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.1-30.

²³ Jennifer Woodward, 'Royal Death', pp.277.

²⁴ McManus, 'Marriage - real and representational', chapter 2; Bruce Smith writes this of Jacobean tomb sculptures; 'Housed within a gothic canopy or posed in front of a classical "triumphal arch", the effigy took up a pose on the "scaffolding" of the tomb-chest and "spoke" to the viewer'; 'Sermons in Stone: Shakespeare and Renaissance Sculpture', Shakespeare Studies, 17 (1985), 1-23 (p.3).

²⁵ For analysis of the image of the woman-as-icon and the discourse of statuary in Jacobean masques see McManus, 'Marriage - Real and Representational', pp.35-45.

²⁶ Chamberlain, in Nichols, James I, III, p.545-6.

²⁷ See chapter four, 'Cupid's Banishment at Greenwich: between the Tudor Palace and the Queen's House'; Colvin, III, part I, p.138.

²⁸ Karen Lee Middaugh, "'The Golden Tree'", pp.31-6.

²⁹ John Peacock, 'The French element in Inigo Jones's masque designs' in Lindley, The Court Masque, pp.149-68. For a discussion of the French *ballet de cour*, see McGowan, L'Art du ballet de cour and Franko, Dance as Text.

³⁰ Sophie Tomlinson, 'She that Plays the King'; "'My Brain the Stage": Margaret Cavendish and the Fantasy of Female Performance', pp.189-207; Julie Sanders, "'The Day's Sports Devised in the Inn": Jonson's The New Inn and Theatrical Politics', pp.545-60; Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660-1700 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Sandra Richards, The Rise of the English Actress (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993); Suzanne Gossett, "'Man-maid, Begone!'", pp.96-113; Susan Wiseman, 'Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle', in Women, Writing, History 1640-1740, ed. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London: B.T. Batsford 1992), pp.159-77; Veevers.

³¹ Sophie Tomlinson, 'She that Plays the King', p.190. Tomlinson is referring to Katherine Eisaman Maus, "'Playhouse Flesh and Blood": Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress', English Literary History, 46 (1979), 595-617.

³² Tomlinson comments,

It is important [...] to register the distinction between the silent and emblematic participation of women in the Jacobean masque, and the far more dynamic potential for projecting female personality allowed by the declamation, action, singing, and dancing which made up [Henrietta Maria's] theatrical diversions.

Sophie Tomlinson, 'She that Plays the King', p.192.

³³ Julie Sanders rejects Kevin Sharpe's restricted description of Henrietta Maria's influence; Julie Sanders, "'The Day's Sports Devised in the Inn": Jonson's The New Inn and Theatrical Politics', p.547, discussing Kevin Sharpe, 'The Image of Virtue: The Court and Households of Charles I, 1625-42', in The English Court from the War of the Roses to the Civil War, ed. by David Starkey and others (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), pp.226-60.

³⁴ Martin Butler, Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.26.

³⁵ Henrietta Maria's masques were an unidentified masque of 1626, Orgel and Strong, II, pp.389-91; Chloridia (1631), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.418-50; Tempe Restored (1632), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.478-503; The Temple of Love (1635), Orgel and Strong, II, 598-629; Luminalia: The Queen's Festival of Light (1638), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.704-23. Charles I's masques were Love's Triumph through Callipolis (1631), Orgel and Strong, I, pp.405-15; Albion's Triumph (1632), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.452-77; Coelum Britannicum (1634), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.566-97; Britannia Triumphans (1638), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.660-703. Both Charles and Henrietta Maria masqued in Davenant's Salmacida Spolia (1640), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.728-85.

³⁶ 'I hear not much honour of the Quenne's maske, for, if they were not all, soome were in men's apparel'; cited Sophie Tomlinson, 'She that plays the King', p.189. Henrietta Maria performed in three pastorals, Racan's Artenice (1626), Orgel and Strong, I, pp.383-8; Montague's Shepherd's Paradise (1633), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.504-35; Florimène (anon.) (1635), Orgel and Strong, II, pp.630-59.

³⁷ Thomas Brand, cited by Richards, p.1. Townshend, Tempe Restored, Orgel and Strong, II, pp.478-503; Suzanne Gossett 'Women in Masques', p.108.

³⁸ See Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass', pp.18-24.

³⁹ Howe, p.17; Susan Wiseman, 'Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle', p.160.

⁴⁰ Richards, p.2.

⁴¹ Lady Jane Cavendish and Lady Elizabeth Brackley's, The Concealed Fancies (c.1645) is an example of female authorship, although there is no evidence that it was actually performed; Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, Renaissance Drama, pp.127-54; Susan Wiseman, 'Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle', p.160-3.

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